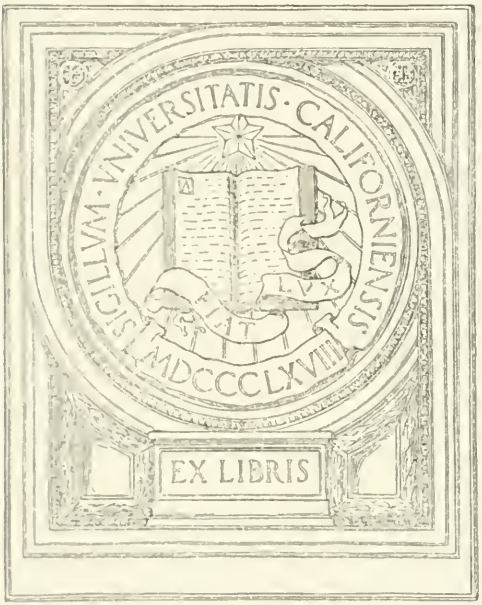
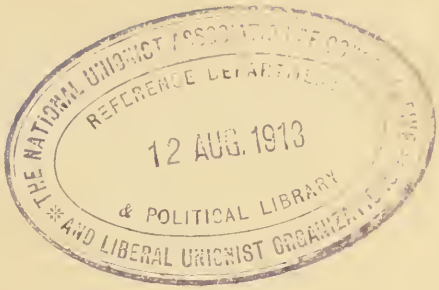
THE TRUTH ABOUT HOME RULE

PEMBROKE WICKS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES



T. 8 10.


THE NATIONAL UNIONIST
REFERENCE
12 AUG. 1913
& POLITICAL LIBRARY
AND LIBERAL UNIONIST

PRESENTATION
COPY

HARDING

DEC 1 6 1940

LIBRARY SETS

387866

Photo by Piccadilly Arcade Studio

THE RT. HON. SIR EDWARD CARSON, K.C., M.P.

Leader of the Unionists in Ireland and Chairman of the Irish Unionist Party in the House of Commons.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HOME RULE

BY

PEMBROKE WICKS, LL.B. (LONDON)

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

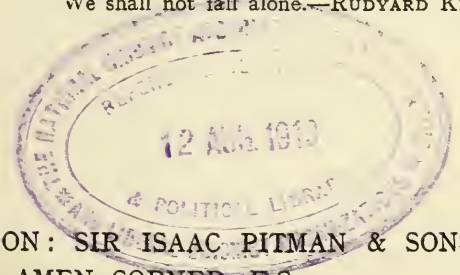
WITH A PREFACE

BY THE RIGHT HON.

SIR EDWARD CARSON, K.C., M.P.

ULSTER

What answer from the North?
One Law, One Land, One Throne,
If England drives us forth,
We shall not fall alone.—RUDYARD KIPLING.



LONDON: SIR ISAAC PITMAN & SONS, LTD.
No. 1 AMEN CORNER, E.C. . . . 1913

Printed by Sir Isaac Pitman
& Sons, Ltd., London, Bath
and New York . . 1913

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

J N
1413
1913
W63t

PREFACE

By the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, K.C., M.P.

The misfortunes of Ireland are a commonplace of history. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the country was devastated by rebellions, insurrections, and religious persecution, while her industrial activities were strangled by the short-sighted jealousy of English commercial interests. After the Union in 1800 the restoration of Irish prosperity was to some extent retarded by a combination of political blunders and the genesis of a period of violent and criminal agitation following on the terrible misery caused by the potato famine. This is the aspect that those who only know Ireland through the voice of the agitator love to dwell upon. But the dawn of the twentieth century witnessed the effects of the deliberate policy of the regeneration of Ireland, begun by the Unionist party in the eighties and carried out in the face of persistent obstruction. During the last twenty-five years the whole country has undergone a complete change for

the better. On the eve of the full harvest of Irish prosperity it would indeed be well if our countrymen beyond the seas would contemplate the misfortunes likely to befall our beloved Island, if any retrograde movement should once more cause Ireland to cry a halt in the race of progress and to be abandoned to the destructive forces of political agitation and faction struggles.

The facts of the Irish question are plain and incontrovertible, but they tell a different story to that conveyed by the perverted rhetoric of the Irish Nationalist envoys to the United States of America, and to Canada and Australia. It is only necessary to understand the true conditions in Ireland of to-day to appreciate the disasters which would follow from the fulfilment of Nationalist ambitions. Everywhere in Ireland to-day are signs of great and growing prosperity, the direct result of the Unionist policy of resolute government and sound reform. In pursuance of that policy seventy-five million pounds have already been advanced by the British people to carry out the great scheme of Land Purchase, which has changed the whole aspect of agricultural life in Ireland, and several millions more have to be raised upon the credit of the Imperial Parliament.

Contrast the principles and actions of the Irish Nationalist Party. Their appeals to violence and intimidation—the organised exclusion from public life in Ireland of their political opponents wherever the latter are in a minority —their open and avowed disloyalty—and their persistent obstruction of beneficial reforms—all these are features which it is impossible to disregard in considering the possible character of a Nationalist Parliament at Dublin.

Even if we could afford to forget the disastrous record of the Nationalist Party, there are grave reasons both from an economic and a strategic point of view against the proposal to establish in Ireland a separate Parliament and a separate Executive.

In the course of the present controversy I have repeatedly asked what possible benefit either Great Britain or Ireland could hope to obtain from the establishment of an Irish Parliament. I have had no answer. The reasons which caused Pitt to bring about the Union in 1800 apply with equal force to-day. The danger to Great Britain remains unchanged, while the repeal of the Union and the separation of the exchequers of the two countries would involve Ireland in financial ruin. The economic interests of Ireland are bound up with those

of England and Scotland, and it is essential for Irish prosperity that Ireland should not be forced into the position of antagonism and distrust that characterized the relations of the two countries in the days of the Irish Parliament.

Neither can we interpret the sudden conversion of the Nationalist leaders to their present attitude as other than a policy of opportunism adopted at a time when they find it necessary to conciliate the British electorate by professions of loyalty and toleration. For example, we are told by Mr. Redmond in the House of Commons that a strictly subordinate Parliament, subject to the effective supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, would fully satisfy the demand for Home Rule. Yet at the very time when the Home Rule Bill is being debated over here, the Irish Party in the United States, who provide the funds for the Home Rule campaign in Ireland, pass a resolution declaring that "nothing less than absolute independence can ever be considered by our race at home or abroad as a final settlement of the Irish question."[1]

It is, indeed, difficult to follow the reasoning

[1] Resolution passed at the Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Chicago. (Reported in the *Gaelic American*, 27th July, 1912.)

of those members of the Liberal Party who take refuge in the belief that the Home Rule Bill provides a settlement of the Irish question and will remove from British politics the element of uncertainty and opportunity for obstruction caused by the presence of the Irish Nationalist members in the House of Commons. Such a hope is founded in illusion. It is falsified by the provisions of the Home Rule Bill, *e.g.*, by the retention of forty-two members at Westminster, and by the clause of the Bill which provides for the re-opening at some indefinite date in the future of the whole of the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Further than that, in spite of the ostensible acceptance of the Bill by the leaders of the Nationalist Party, among their supporters there is widespread discontent at the restrictions upon the powers of the Irish Parliament. The abolition of the veto of the Imperial Parliament and the establishment of the fiscal independence of Ireland are openly demanded even by Nationalist members of Parliament. To this must be added the aspirations of the avowedly separatist group who look for nothing less than the complete separation of Ireland from England and are able to take courage from Mr. John Redmond's declaration in 1908 that "if there

are men who are more extreme than we are my prayer for them is success to all their ideals and all their hopes." [1]

In short, the establishment of an Irish Parliament subject to the complicated restrictions contained in the Home Rule Bill could only provide fresh material for agitation and fresh opportunity for obstruction by the Nationalist members retained at Westminster. The only means of arriving at a permanent settlement of the Irish question is through the growing consciousness of the Irish people that Ireland's interests are bound up with those of Great Britain, and that under the Imperial Parliament alone can those interests be protected and developed—whereas government by an Irish Parliament can have no other issue but discord, corruption, and violent faction struggles. Already the farmers in the south and west of Ireland are stirred by the feeling that the policy of the Unionist Party during the last twenty-five years has brought about content where formerly was misery—has produced a happy industrious population where formerly were congestion and ignorance.

It needs but time for the true appreciation of

[1] At Dublin, September, 1908. (*Freeman's Journal*, Sept. 2, 1908.)

the effects of Unionist policy to overcome the miserable intrigues of professional agitators and secret societies. A few years hence, provided the country be well and courageously governed with the continuance of the Unionist policy of fostering Irish industries and protecting Irish interests, the arts of agitation will be used in vain and appeals to violence will fall on deaf ears.

It is necessary to lay stress on the hollowness of the pretence that Home Rule means nothing more than a provincial legislature similar to the provincial legislatures of Canada. I will not anticipate the chapter on Federalism in this book beyond pointing out that the federal idea is negatived by the determined refusal of the Government to consider the question of Ulster apart from the rest of Ireland. If you are going to set up a federal system in the British Isles, the claim of Ulster not to be subjected to a Dublin Parliament is indisputable. Every argument that Canadian or Australian Federalists can advance in favour of the establishment of provincial Parliaments may be applied with double force in the case of Ulster. But the Nationalist Party have declined to consider the separate treatment of Ulster—the reason being that they intend that the Irish Parliament

either immediately or at some future time shall occupy, not the essentially subordinate position of the legislatures of Ontario or Quebec, but the practical independence of the Federal Parliament of the Dominion.

Even the members of the Liberal Government denounce the suggestion of the independence of Ireland on the model of Canada, Australia, or South Africa—but the fact remains that the framework of the Home Rule Bill is adapted only to that end.

There are three conceivable forms of Government for Ireland : the present system of government by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, an Independent Irish Parliament, or the Federalisation of the British Isles, with a central Parliament at London.

Anything else is unworkable on the face of it, and must ultimately be assimilated to one of these three forms. The present Bill is a hybrid creation and follows none of these models, but is open to objections against each of them. While a large part of the government of the country is to remain in the hands of the Imperial Parliament—which must be in itself an objectionable feature to the Nationalist mind—the Bill contains many of the practical dangers of Irish independence, and

all the risk of friction between the State and Federal legislatures which is inherent in any federal system.

To which of these three forms of government would the Irish Constitution ultimately attain ? Apart altogether from the merits and demerits of federalism and the anti-federal character of the present scheme, the idea of federation may be ruled out, for before it could be put into practical form, it would be necessary for the desire to federate to exist in the other parts of the United Kingdom. Beyond occasional mutterings from a handful of the Scotch members of the House of Commons there has been no suggestion that the people of England, Scotland and Wales desire to decentralise the legislature of Great Britain. Without a desire for federation in the component parts federation is impossible.

It is equally ridiculous to expect that the present Home Rule Bill, if passed into law, could be regarded as a permanent constitution for Ireland. Irresistible forces would be set up which could only be set at rest by the complete independence of Ireland or the re-establishment of the Union. It is unnecessary to say more. The *reductio ad absurdum* is complete. The policy of Unionism holds the field.

In the present volume the Home Rule problem is considered from two points of view. In the first place, the reasons are set out for the conclusion that the grant of Home Rule would prove disastrous to the prosperity of Ireland and dangerous to the interests of Great Britain and the Empire.

Secondly, the main features of the Home Rule Bill, 1912, are examined, and it is shown that apart from the obnoxious principle of the measure, its provisions—particularly in regard to finance—are utterly unworkable in practice.

In addition to the weighty reasons which may be urged against Home Rule on general grounds, it is impossible to ignore the determined opposition of Ulster and the loyal minority in other parts of Ireland. The people of Ulster bitterly resent the attempt to deprive them of their birthright as citizens of the United Kingdom under the protection of the Imperial Parliament; they regard with dismay the proposal to sever the Union which they believe to be the foundation of Irish prosperity.

May I take this occasion of making an appeal to our fellow-citizens throughout the Empire and to our kinsmen in blood in the United States of America to record their protest against the proposal to betray the loyal minority in

Ireland into the hands of a Parliament composed of men whose ideals they detest and whose methods they abhor.

The writer of this book has had unique opportunities of studying this question in its various aspects as it has been presented in the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons and on the various political platforms throughout the country, and I commend a study of it to all those who prefer to consider what Ireland really is in the present and how it will best develop in the future rather than be for ever nursing hatreds and discontent out of faults and failures in the past while a brighter dawn has arisen in our native land.

EDWARD CARSON.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.
March, 1913.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

I HAVE endeavoured to set out in the following pages the grave reasons against the proposal to grant Home Rule to Ireland. I have made no attempt to trace the history of the Home Rule movement from its inception in the middle of last century, nor to describe the lurid period of Fenian agitation. The task has been ably performed by other writers and would occupy more space than I can command.

This work has been written primarily for circulation in the United States of America and in the great self-governing Dominions, although I hope it may not be without interest to readers in this country.

My thanks are due to Sir Edward Carson for the preface which he has kindly contributed. Need I add that I alone am responsible for the opinions expressed in this book.

I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. Philip Cambray, the Secretary of the Union Defence League for many of the references to Irish newspapers, and to my wife for her assistance in revising the manuscript.

PEMBROKE WICKS.

1 GARDEN COURT,
TEMPLE, LONDON.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	PREFACE BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD CARSON, K.C., M.P.	iii
CHAP.		
I.	INTRODUCTORY	1
II.	THE CONDITION OF IRELAND TO-DAY .	10
III.	THE NATIONALIST AGITATION . . .	19
IV.	ULSTER	50
V.	THE FEDERAL ANALOGY . . .	95
VI.	NAVAL AND MILITARY PROBLEMS . .	112
VII.	UNIONIST CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY . .	124
VIII.	THE HOME RULE BILL, 1912 . . .	140
APPENDICES—		
A.	TEXT OF THE HOME RULE BILL, 1912 .	187
B.	FINANCIAL OUTLINE OF THE HOME RULE BILL (TREASURY WHITE PAPER) . .	227
C.	REPORT OF BELFAST CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	231

PORTRAITS

	facing page
THE RT. HON. SIR EDWARD CARSON, K.C., M.P. .	iii
THE RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW, M.P. . . .	1
THE RT. HON. HERBERT ASQUITH, K.C., M.P. .	6
MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.	19
THE RT. HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, K.C., M.P. .	27
THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY, K.G. . .	50
FACSIMILE OF ULSTER COVENANT . . .	91
THE RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P. . . .	126

2—(2333)

Photo by Bassano

THE RIGHT HON. A. BONAR LAW, M.P.

Leader of the Unionist Opposition in the House of Commons.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HOME RULE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

APPEARANCES—particularly in politics—are deceptive. Those who are not familiar with the details of the domestic politics of the United Kingdom would imagine from the speeches of the members of His Majesty's Government that the Home Rule question on its merits occupies the place of honour in the programme of the British Liberal Party. On closer examination, it will be found that it has been forced to the front solely on account of the predicament in which the present Government would find themselves if unable to rely upon the votes of the eighty-four Irish Nationalist Members in the House of Commons.

As this book is written mainly for those who have not the opportunity to follow the intricacies of British politics, in order that it may not be supposed that this is the prejudiced statement of a partisan, it is desirable to trace as succinctly as possible the considerations which lead to the conclusion that the Home Rule Bill has been imposed upon the Liberal Party by the force of circumstances—that they have been obliged to make a virtue of necessity.

In the first place, on all those occasions on which

a Home Rule Bill has been introduced—in 1886, 1893, and 1912—the Liberal Government in power have been dependent upon the Irish vote to maintain them in office. The coincidence—if it is a coincidence—is remarkable ; one may be pardoned for assuming that it is in each case an illustration of cause and effect.

The following table shows the state of the different parties in the House of Commons after the three critical elections—

	1886.	1892.	1911.	
Unionist	250	315	272	
Liberal (and Labour)	334	274	314	Labour, 42 Liberal, 272
Irish Nationalist ..	86	81	84	

In each case it was manifestly in the power of the Irish Nationalist Party to turn out the Government at any moment by voting with the Unionist Opposition on financial questions or any other vital matter.

It would be tedious to recite in detail the course of political events which led up to the introduction of the present Bill, nor would it be of interest to those who have not followed the tangled course of British politics in the past seven years to trace from the speeches of Mr. Asquith and his colleagues the manner in which his Home Rule policy has been moulded by the pressure of circumstances.

Those who desire to be supplied with chapter and verse for the statements which appear in the following summary will find them carefully set out in Mr. Cambray's able work : *Irish Affairs and the Home Rule Question.*

After the great *débâcle* in 1906, when the Liberal

Party were returned to power with a majority of 354, the greatest known to our history since the party system was introduced, but little was heard of the Irish question. It is true an Irish Councils Bill was introduced with the object of setting up in Ireland a kind of Provincial Council with restricted powers.

This was said at the time to be an instalment of a larger policy, and was offered as a "sop" to the Irish electors who held the balance in several borough constituencies in England and Scotland. At the time it was the most the Government could offer for fear of offending the large number of Unionists who had returned them on a Free Trade issue. It proved unacceptable to the supporters of the Nationalist Party at Dublin, and was dropped. The Government could well afford to do without the Irish votes in the House of Commons, and no further attempt was made to revive the Home Rule question in that Parliament.

In January, 1910, the Liberals went to the country on the revolutionary financial scheme introduced by Mr. Lloyd George and rejected by the House of Lords, and were returned with a greatly reduced majority and dependent upon the votes of the Irish members.

The new financial policy was obnoxious to the Irish people and accordingly distasteful to the members of the Nationalist Party, but the opportunity to sell the votes of the party in exchange for Mr. Asquith's pledge to introduce a Home Rule Bill was too favourable to be lost.

Mr. Redmond agreed to support the new financial policy of the Government—at a price—to quote his

own words : " We will vote for it (the Budget). We are willing to pay the price, but we will not pay that price for nothing."

In consequence, the famous " Budget " was passed by the aid of the Irish votes and, being again presented to the House of Lords, met with no further opposition.

It was apparent that in the event of the introduction of a Home Rule Bill, the House of Lords would again be an insurmountable bar to its passage into law ; and Mr. Redmond joined forces with Mr. Asquith for the purpose of removing the power of the House of Lords to veto legislation passed by the House of Commons three times in three successive sessions.

This policy was embodied in the Parliament Bill which was passed through the House of Commons by the assistance of the Irish votes ; and, after the General Election in December, 1910, following on its rejection by the House of Lords, was forced down the throats of that assembly by the promise extracted by Mr. Asquith from the Sovereign that a sufficient number of Peers would be created to overcome resistance to the proposed measure.

The Parliament Bill received the Royal Assent in August, 1911 ; and Mr. Redmond, having removed the permanent obstacle to Home Rule presented by the House of Lords, has lost no time in compelling Mr. Asquith to carry out his pledge and fulfil the only condition upon which the support of the Irish Nationalist Party would be continued—the introduction of the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Redmond has in

fact carried out the threat which he made at Limerick on September 11th, 1910, when he said: "I believe that the present leaders of the Liberal Party are sincere. Whether they are sincere or not, we will make them, and we have got the power to do it; we will make them toe the line."

On the other hand, it is urged by the supporters of the Government that the power of Mr. Redmond to turn out the Government is immaterial to the question, since the country by returning the Liberal-Labour-Nationalist coalition with a substantial majority at the last election in December 1910 have given a "mandate" in favour of Home Rule. The "mandatory" theory is a novelty in British politics; and if ever there were a case in which it is impossible to declare that the Government were returned on any single issue, it is in the elections of 1910.

To mention only a few of the subjects of controversy, the electors were largely occupied with the questions of the House of Lords, Free Trade, Land Taxation, Social Reform, the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, the Temperance Question, and Education. In the opinion of Mr. Asquith himself—expressed in his own election address—the appeal to the electors was referred to as being "almost narrowed down to a single issue—the question of the Veto of the House of Lords." Nor is it any exaggeration to say that, so far as the members of the Cabinet were concerned, there was a manifest reluctance throughout the election to mention the Home Rule Question.

It was not until it was clear from the number of members already elected that Mr. Asquith would be

again dependent upon the votes of the Irish Nationalist Party in the House of Commons, that he gave a definite declaration of his intention to introduce a Home Rule Bill in the present Parliament. His earlier utterances at Hull at the opening of the campaign, and the oft-quoted speech at the Albert Hall, London, on December 10th, 1909, were vague and shadowy, and did not commit him to any definite course. It was not until 441 out of the 670 members of the House of Commons had been returned, including all the borough constituencies, that the country was permitted to know Mr. Asquith's intentions, and then only in the form of an answer to the dogged enquiries of a Scotch questioner in his own constituency on December 7th, 1910.

He was asked: "Is it the case that if the Liberal Party are returned on this occasion they intend to grant Ireland a measure of Home Rule?" and replied: "It is." [1]

At a meeting on the following day, Mr. Asquith refused further information, saying: "We cannot, and we ought not, to attempt to give any details of the Home Rule Bill."

In face of the deliberate plan of the Government to keep the Home Rule question as far as possible in the background, and having regard to the various other issues pressed upon the attention of the electors, it is impossible to maintain that the Home Rule question was definitely before the country at the last election.

After the election at the end of 1910, Mr. Redmond

[1] *Scotsman*, December 8th, 1910.

Photo by Elliott & Fry

THE RIGHT HON. HERBERT ASQUITH, K.C., M.P
Prime Minister.

being then in a position to dictate terms to the Government, the only obstacle he had to fear was that a considerable section of the Liberal Party might resent the jettisoning of the issues upon which they had mainly been elected to such an extent as to face another election rather than submit to a Home Rule Bill which is repugnant to many of them. The manipulation of the legislative programme has accordingly been adroit. Mr. Lloyd George and his followers were allowed to use the remainder of 1911 —after the passage of the Parliament Act—for rushing through the Bill for the compulsory insurance of the working classes against sickness. Last session the Welsh contingent were appeased by the introduction of a Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales which has been passed through the House of Commons concurrently with the Home Rule Bill; and the value of the bargain is shown by the fact that the Welsh Bill was on several occasions saved by the votes of Mr. Redmond and his followers. This system of "log-rolling" is new in this country, and is peculiarly detestable because it enables the proposals of a minority to be passed into law by the aid of the votes of another minority who have no real interest in the matter, but who are willing to exchange their votes for assistance on the subject in which they themselves are interested, although the country as a whole may be indifferent to or even bitterly opposed to both sets of proposals.

In the present case, for instance, the Unionist Party is numerically the strongest in the House of Commons; but the Liberal Government is able to maintain itself

in power by appealing in turn to the self-interests of each of the groups which go to form its majority.

[1] STATE OF PARTIES IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, JANUARY, 1913.

Unionists	281	
Liberals	264	
Nationalists ..	84	Official Nationalist party .. 76 Independent Nationalists .. 8
Labour-Socialist ..	41	

Before proceeding to examine the Home Rule problem on its merits it is desirable to emphasise the exact constitutional position in regard to the present Home Rule Bill. That Bill has now passed the House of Commons and has been rejected by the House of Lords. Under the terms of the Parliament Act, 1911, any Bill which has been passed by the House of Commons three times in three successive sessions extending over a period of not less than two years becomes law upon receiving the Royal Assent, and without the concurrence of the House of Lords.

The Home Rule Bill has been rejected once by the House of Lords; there is no reason to suppose that it will meet with a different fate if it is presented to them again.

The two years above referred to date from the second reading [2] of the Bill (when presented for the first time to the House of Commons) to the third reading of the Bill (when presented for the third and last time to the House of Commons).

[1] The difference in the figures from those given on an earlier page is due to bye-elections between 1911 and 1913.

[2] The phrase "second reading" should not be confused with the introduction of a Bill *for the second time* in the House of Commons under the Parliament Act. Under our present system of legislation *every Bill* is read a first, second, and third time in both Houses of Parliament.

The second reading of the Home Rule Bill (1) took place on May 9th, 1912; so that it cannot be passed into law, without the consent of the House of Lords, under the automatic operation of the Parliament Act, until May 9th, 1914.

CHAPTER II

THE CONDITION OF IRELAND TO-DAY

IRELAND is represented to-day in the House of Commons by 103 members—a number far larger than is justified by the existing population. The proper proportion is sixty-six.

Yet the argument in support of the demand for Home Rule proceeds on the assumption that Ireland suffers substantial injustice and unfair treatment by being compelled to submit to the Government of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Not only is there no foundation for the statement, since Ireland is subject to the same system of laws as England and her people stand on a footing of equality with the rest of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, but during the last twenty years, whenever there has been any discrimination, it has always been in favour of Ireland. The task of solving the problem of Irish discontent, which has been the especial care of successive Unionist Ministries, has resulted in a number of reforms relating exclusively to Ireland. This policy has been amply justified by results.

The most effective argument advanced by the advocates of Home Rule at the time of the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 has been swept away by the marked improvement in the social and economic position of Ireland to-day.

There is perhaps no more eloquent witness of the change which has come over Ireland than Mr. Redmond himself.

Speaking at Detroit, U.S.A., on October 26th, 1910, he said—

"I desire to put before you in plain businesslike language what the last ten years has accomplished for Ireland. . . . Over one half of Ireland the tillers of the soil are absolute owners. . . . In a few short years the whole of the land of Ireland will be free once and for ever of landlordism. . . . A few short years, and the land question in Ireland—that fruitful source of poverty, starvation, misery, bloodshed, and crime—will have absolutely passed away. And with the passing away of that system will have passed the chief cause which kept the Irish people, not only poverty-stricken, but enslaved. . . . There is a class of people in Ireland perhaps more deserving of the sympathy and respect of the Irish race even than the tenant farmers. I mean the agricultural labourers. . . . They still continue living in those miserable mud hovels which have been the reproach of Ireland. . . . Well, thank God, in the last two years we have put an end to that reproach. Within the last six years we have obtained 30,000,000 dollars from the British Exchequer to remove these wretched hovels and to erect in their places decent, sanitary habitations for the labourers of Ireland. . . . No settlement of the land question would be accepted by Ireland which did not include a restoration of these people (the evicted tenants) to their own homes. Three thousand of these families have within the last few years been restored to their homes—not merely restored to their homes, but their houses that had been broken down by the crowbar brigade have been

rebuilt for them by money obtained not as a loan, but as a free grant from the British Exchequer. Their farms have been restored, they have been given new farm implements, and they have gone back to the land from which they were evicted twenty years ago, not as tenants, but as absolute owners of the soil. . . . To-day the school-houses are decent, sanitary buildings, heated and cleaned by money which we obtained for that purpose from the British Exchequer. The teachers, although they are not paid as much as the teachers in England, still have had their position enormously improved. . . . The secondary schools in Ireland—what would be called, I think, here your high schools—are to-day, for the first time, being well supported. Large monetary assistance is being given to them. And, greatest perhaps of all for the first time for centuries the blessings of facilities for higher education have been extended to the masses of the Irish people. . . . There was created in Ireland for the benefit of the great majority of people of that great country a great Free National University." [1]

The situation is well summarised by Mr. T. P. Gill, some years ago Nationalist Member for South Louth, and now Secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction under the present Liberal Government. Speaking at Belfast on August 7th, 1911, he said—

" Ireland was now on the up-grade, and this movement upward was so significant, was fed from so many springs of national life and wealth, the awakening so

[1] *Irish World* (American), November 5th, 1910.

stirred over the whole frame of the country—through her agriculture, industries, education, social endeavour, her moral and intellectual state—that she was to-day not only a progressive nation, but within her own limits amongst the most rapidly and soundly progressive nations in the world."

It is unnecessary to multiply evidence of this description, nor indeed is the fact disputed.

The causes of the improvement of Ireland are admitted even by the opponents of the Union to be due to the policy and energy of the Unionist Party.

Lord MacDonnell, a keen advocate of Home Rule, who held the post of Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant under the Liberal Government from 1906 to 1908, gives full credit to the Unionist Party for the dawn of Irish regeneration. Speaking at a meeting at the Bankers' Institute in Dublin on November 29th, 1911, he said—

" Within the last eight years he had seen marvellous improvement in the state of Ireland. He had seen confidence grow up. Men looked them in the face—men no longer afraid of the future. He put that down not to taxation on this or on that—he put it down to the Land Purchase Act, the first great remedial measure that had been introduced. He himself was a Liberal ; but counting the measures that had been introduced into Ireland for the last twenty years, the great majority had been introduced by the Conservative Party, and they would give them credit for that. From Mr. Balfour's time in 1891 up to the present day there had been a succession of great things. Consequently they must admit that, however Ireland

might have suffered in the past, the day of her regeneration had already dawned." [1]

The prosperity of Ireland, which is admitted by all parties, is as remarkable as it has been rapid. Judged by any of the standards from which it is possible to test the progress of a nation, the rapid advancement of Ireland along the path of progress is a matter beyond dispute.[2]

The following extract from the report on the Home Rule Bill of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce gives statistics from the official returns of Irish trade—

"It is indisputable that under the security of the Imperial Parliament the prosperity of Ireland has shown a great and growing advance. The following figures, relating only to the period which has elapsed since the defeat of the last Home Rule Bill, prove this conclusively. The total import and export trade at Irish ports in 1904—the earliest year for which official returns are available—was estimated at £103,790,799, and in 1910 at £130,888,732 sterling. Deposits and Cash Balances in Joint Stock Banks in Ireland on the 30th June, 1893, amounted to £34,637,000, as compared with £56,011,000 in 1911, being an increase of £21,374,000. The figures in relation to Post Office Savings Banks for the same years are £4,155,000 and £12,253,000 respectively; and for Trustees' Savings Banks, £1,856,000 and £2,557,000 respectively. The

[1] *Freeman's Journal*, November 30th, 1911.

[2] For a description of the means by which this had been achieved, see Chapter VII on Unionist Constructive Policy. It is the declared intention of the leaders of the Unionist party, when they are returned to power, to continue the policy of Irish development on the lines which have proved so successful in the past.

gross receipts of Irish Railways in 1893 amounted to £3,181,043, and in 1910 to £4,474,016."

This improvement is almost entirely due to the legislative reforms introduced by the Imperial Parliament under the guidance of the Unionist Government between 1887 and 1891 and 1895 and 1906.[1] That this increased prosperity has been brought about under the Union by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament and by the assistance of Imperial credit is the strongest possible argument, so far as the interests of Ireland are concerned, in favour of the Union, and shifts on to the advocates of Home Rule the burden of proving that there is any advantage to be gained for Ireland by setting up a Parliament at Dublin.

Nor is it much consolation to the Irish farmer or the Irish manufacturer to read Mr. Redmond's own words: "What do we care for material reforms in Ireland. They may fill the stomachs of the Irish people. That will not satisfy their spirits. I say that we have preferred in the past rags and the spirit of liberty rather than be the sleekest slave that ever was fed at the hands of the Conqueror."[2]

Throughout the prolonged controversy on the Home Rule question not a single argument has been advanced to show what benefit Ireland is to gain by giving up her place in the Union and by voluntarily depriving herself of the assistance of Imperial credit and the benefits of the Imperial partnership. And, indeed, it is a matter for comment that throughout the long

[1] See Chapter VII.
[2] Speech at Tipperary, November 13th, 1910.

course of years during which the various Home Rule proposals have been urged by Mr. Redmond and his predecessors, in no single instance has there been a bold and consistent declaration of the reforms which an Irish Parliament would be able to effect and which the Imperial Parliament has been unable or unwilling to grant. Although vast sums have been expended in recent years for the development of Irish resources with the result already described, the Imperial Parliament, with all the resources at its disposal, has not yet been able to find sufficient money for all the reforms which a beneficent legislature would like to see carried out ; and it would be impossible for an Irish Parliament, with its resources limited to the pockets of the Irish taxpayer, to provide for any further schemes of social improvement.

This has in fact been recognised by the present Government, for in the Home Rule Bill of last session the control, and therewith of course the cost, of all the schemes of development and social reform which have been extended to Ireland in recent years have been reserved to the Imperial Parliament. It was admitted by the speakers on behalf of the Government that the Irish Parliament would be unable to bear the increasing cost of the new schemes of National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, and Land Purchase, and these matters have accordingly been reserved to the Imperial Parliament.[1]

Although the present Government may be willing to bear the cost of the expensive schemes of reform

[1] See the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Postmaster-General on the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, 1912.

of their own creation—all future developments would be in the hands of the Irish Parliament : all additional expenditure would henceforward have to come from the pockets of the Irish taxpayer. The wealth of the richer partner in the partnership of the United Kingdom would no longer be available for the development of the latent resources of Irish industry.

It is a commonplace grievance among Irish Nationalist speakers and writers that Ireland is at the present day over-taxed. Whether this allegation be true or not, it is impossible to see from what source the Irish Parliament would be able to find the money from which to finance any further schemes of development and reform.

It has been urged in a general way, but without any attempt at definition, that an Irish Parliament would be able to effect economies in administration ; but it is remarkable that no one with any acquaintance of the details of Irish Government has been able to indicate the means by which substantial economies can be effected with due regard to the maintenance of efficiency.

Indeed, the remarkable admission has been made by an authority well versed in the working of the Irish Government that economy under Home Rule is impossible.

Lord MacDonnell, a Liberal in politics and a Home Ruler, writing in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for January, 1912, says—

" But knowing something of the directions in which savings can be made, I desire emphatically to say that, unless all expenditure on social betterment is

abandoned and Irish administrative standards are reduced below the English and Scotch level, no such economies can be effected as would suffice to meet from the Irish 'true' revenue the charges of Irish Government and the outlay which Ireland's neglected condition calls for."

Indeed, Mr. Redmond's present attitude on the point is an interesting study in the evolution of political arguments under the pressure of obvious facts. Speaking at Drumkeesin on October 27th, 1907, he said: "If Ireland were self-governed, she could easily be governed . . . at one-half of the present expenditure."

Contrast his attitude after the introduction of the Bill. In the House of Commons,[1] with the prospect of having to act up to his assurances in the near future, he tells a different story: "Probably a generation will pass away before any very substantial economies can be made in the government of Ireland."

To sum up the arguments contained in this chapter, Home Rule can offer no advantage to Ireland. Ireland is doing remarkably well under the Union; and, as will be shown in the next chapter, would advance at an even greater rate were she not still under the bane of the professional politicians whose genius for agitation and intrigue is the curse of the country whose interests he professes to serve.

To hand over the destinies of Ireland to the uncontrolled domination of the professional agitator in a Parliament at Dublin would involve the ruin of Irish credit and the abrupt termination of Irish prosperity.

[1] Official Debates, November 25th, 1912.

Photo by Elliott & Fry

MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.
Leader of the Irish Nationalist Party.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIONALIST AGITATION

HAVING considered the present condition of Ireland, the next step is to determine the nature of the change demanded by those who advocate "Home Rule" and the prospects of good government if the demand were complied with.

The phrase "Home Rule" has been used indiscriminately to indicate a variety of forms of government, from the conversion of Ireland into a foreign nation or the grant of the practical independence of Canada or Australia, to the restricted powers of local government enjoyed by the administrative councils of the provinces of the Union of South Africa. The phrase has, in fact, been adapted to suit the views of the individual writer or speaker or the sentiments of the audience addressed.

When we examine the demands of the official Nationalist Party, we are met by the additional perplexing problem that not only have they varied at different times and according to the views of different members of the party, but the leaders of the party have during the same period put forward entirely dissimilar propositions varying according to the audiences they are addressing in England or Ireland, in Canada, or the United States of America.

This is best illustrated by actual examples (see pp. 20 and 21) which have been selected from comparatively recent speeches at a time when the necessity

American and Irish Speeches

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at the Convention held at Buffalo, U.S.A., September 27th, 1910—

"Without freedom, all these great concessions are practically valueless, or at any rate, such value as they possess is to be found in the fact that they strengthen the arm of the Irish people, and push on to the great goal of National Independence."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 13th, 1910.

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at Dublin, December 15th, 1909—

"We have before us to-day the best chance which Ireland has ever had for the last century, of tearing up and trampling under foot that infamous Act of Union."—*Freeman's Journal*, December 16th, 1909.

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at the mass meeting held at Buffalo in the evening of September 27th, 1910—

"I have come here to-day to America to ask you to give us your aid in a supreme and, I believe, a final effort to dethrone once and for all the English Government of our country."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 13th, 1910.

English and Scotch Speeches

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at Glasgow, 12th October, 1911—

"All that the Irish people are asking for is legislative and executive control of purely Irish affairs, subject to the unimpaired supremacy of the Imperial Parliament."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 13th, 1911.

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at Swindon, October 9th, 1911—

"Mark you, we are not asking for the repeal of this Union. We are asking only that you shall give to Ireland a subordinate Parliament, that is, a Parliament similar to the twenty-eight subordinate Parliaments which already exist in different portions of the British Empire."—*Bath and Wilts Chronicle*, October 10th, 1911.

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P.—

"We are only asking for the management of our own local affairs by an Executive Government which will be responsible to the public opinion of Ireland. We accept your supremacy and we not merely accept it, but we invite you if anyone has any doubt upon the question to make in the terms of your

American and Irish Speeches	English and Scotch Speeches
Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at a Convention of the United Irish League, held in New York, on August 31st, 1904, said— "My views are moderate views. But if it were in my power to-morrow by any honourable means, to absolutely emancipate Ireland, I would do it. I would feel it my duty to do it. I believe it would be just as possible for Ireland to have a prosperous and free separate existence as a nation as Holland, Belgium, or Switzerland, or other small nationalities. And if it were in the power of any man to bring that result about to-morrow by honourable and brave means, he would be indeed a coward and a traitor to the traditions of his race did he not do so."	Bill that supremacy as effective as you like."—*Morning Post*, October 11, 1911. Mr. Redmond at Cleator Moor— "Then there is the fear of separation from England. We are not asking for separation. . . . Believe me, as soon as we get Home Rule, we agitators will settle down. . . . We will devote all our energies, all our heart and soul, to the effort to make the new Constitution work, to make it permanent, and make it lead to the improvement of our country. Is it not worth while to take the risk? I believe there is no risk."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 15th, 1909.
Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., the President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and Mr. Redmond's right-hand man in the House of Commons, speaking at Philadelphia, November 1908— "I believe in the separation of Ireland from England until Ireland is as free as the air we breathe."—*Irish World*, November 28th, 1908.	Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., speaking in the British House of Commons, May 6th, 1912— "Mr. Asquith's name will live honoured and cherished in the memory of all those who see in him the great instrument under Providence that will unite England and Ireland together for all time."

for propitiating English opinion was daily becoming more apparent. It is only necessary to go a few years back to find stronger language used and many disloyal and separatist speeches by the same men—Redmond, Dillon, and Devlin.[1] For instance, the following is taken from a speech by Mr. Dillon in 1900. The reference is to a visit to Dublin of the late Queen Victoria, whose memory we all revere—

" The voice of the capital will be with the rest of Ireland : that we will not tolerate in this old city that new type of politics which thinks it consistent with Irish Nationality to cringe and crouch before a foreign Queen." [2]

So much for the leaders. The lesser lights, even at the present day, are less guarded in their language. One example will suffice. Mr. Shane Leslie—a prominent member of the Gaelic League, and a candidate of the Nationalist Party at the General Election—in a speech at New York in 1911, said—

" We deliberately and knowingly have set ourselves—if I may use a great phrase—' to break the last link ' that lies between Ireland and England." [3]

In view of the contradictory utterances by the official leader of the Nationalist Party, it is not surprising that there is little disposition on the part of those who have followed the controversy to place any reliance upon the present assurances of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues.

[1] A collection of these is given in the pamphlet " Convicted," published by the Union Defence League, 25 Victoria Street, London.
[2] *Freeman's Journal*, September 3rd, 1900.
[3] *Gaelic American*, November 18th, 1911.

The discrepancy between the sentiments expressed by the leader of the Nationalist party within the short space of twelve months is so marked, that it is impossible to credit him with a change of opinion within so short a time. The explanation is indeed more simple and less creditable.

When addressing audiences comprised of Irish-Americans, the Nationalist Members of Parliament have to appeal to the sentiments of men who have been educated in the opinions of Patrick Ford, the proprietor of the *Irish World*, the organ of the Home Rule party in America, which has undertaken the collection of vast sums of money for the furtherance of the campaign in Ireland. The doctrines advocated by Ford are hatred of England and all that is English. It would be wearisome to multiply quotation, but the following extract from an article in the *Irish World* of September 21st, 1907,[1] is typical of the policy of the paper and the views of its readers—

"There are Irishmen who believe that only by physical force, only by cannons and guns and spears, can the freedom of Ireland be won. Let them hold to their belief; let them do all they can to carry their policy into effect. No good Irishman has, or ought to have, a word to say against them. On the contrary, all good Irishmen, every Irishman 'worth his salt,'

[1] Compare the following resolution passed at the Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians at Chicago in July, 1912. "Yet we know that nothing less than absolute independence can ever be considered by our race at home or abroad as a final settlement of the Irish Question. The memory of Tone and Emmet will ever be fondly revered, and the principles for which they died will not be abandoned by Irish Nationalists, not even after the object they died to accomplish is attained."—*Gaelic American*, July 27th, 1912.

every Irishman with true Irish blood in his veins, would be delighted to see England and her infamous rule in Ireland faced and beaten in the field, and crushed and destroyed for ever by Irish cannons and guns and spears, or by the armed might of Irishmen acting in co-operation with any other or all other military powers or forces on the face of the earth. This is Irish sentiment, Irish instinct, and, therefore, no good Irishman has a word to say against the 'physical force' principle. None of the leaders of the Parliamentary movement has a word to say against it, or ever does say a word against it or against the men or organisation that believe in it as the only right policy."

Mr. Redmond, when speaking in America, accordingly squares his views to the opinions of his audience. He is obliged to do so, or the dollars would cease to flow from the pockets of the Irish-American artisan to the treasure chest of the Nationalist Party.

Speeches made to English or Canadian audiences, on the other hand, are pitched in a patriotic key—witness the Imperial fervour of Mr. T. P. O'Connor's recent campaign in Canada, or that of Mr. W. Redmond, the brother of John Redmond, in Australia. The reason is simple. No such audience would listen to anything tinged with disloyalty or advocating an independent Ireland. We must admire the astuteness of the policy while we deplore its dishonesty.

On the other hand, as it is impossible to gauge the real sentiments of Nationalist politicians from their public utterances, their actions in the past are the only criterion from which we can judge the value of their

present promises. Unfortunately for their cause, their record is not a clean one.

A consideration of the campaign of violence and intimidation which has been waged in Ireland during the last six years—in many cases with the direct instigation of members of the Nationalist Party—belies the present assurance that Mr. Redmond and his colleagues are both able and willing to guarantee peace, order, and good government under a Home Rule Parliament. At no time has Mr. Redmond shown a disposition to go down to the disturbed districts and denounce the disgraceful incidents which mar the fair fame of Ireland, or to use the great authority he must possess in the counsels of the United Irish League [1] to secure the cessation of the outrages complained of.

On the other hand, it is not disputed that many of the acts of violence referred to in the following pages were deliberately planned with the consent and encouragement of the leaders of the Nationalist Party.

The growing prosperity of Ireland, coupled with the strong central government under the Unionist administration of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, produced a marked decrease in the organised crimes of violence which had disgraced Ireland in the last century. The fearless and impartial administration of the law

[1] The United Irish League is the direct descendant of the Land League of the Fenian period. In every instance with the Ancient Order of Hibernians it dictates the policy of the Nationalist party in the House of Commons. Mr. John Redmond, M.P., the Leader of the Nationalist party, is President of the League; Mr. Devlin, M.P., its Secretary. Mr. Dillon, M.P., is a prominent member of the Committee.

produced a change in the condition of the country, and on the accession of the Liberal Government to office in 1906, Ireland was in a more peaceful and contented condition than she had enjoyed for many years.

Unfortunately the elements of discord in the shape of the political agitators—the perennial curse of Ireland—were only waiting for the opportunity to re-kindle the embers of discontent and violent political outrage. So long as proper precautions were taken for the due observance of the law, punishment followed swiftly upon the organised crimes of the lawless section of the community: but the weakening of the central control at Westminster which accompanied the short-sighted policy of the Liberal ministry produced a swift and sudden change. Those in authority were either unable or unwilling to proceed against the political originators of the organised campaign of crime and outrage; and Ireland was again left to the mercies of the professional agitators and the secret societies, the United Irish League, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Crime was rife, criminals went unconvicted, witnesses were afraid to give evidence, and juries dared not convict. It is difficult to condense the mass of evidence which demonstrates the appalling condition of the country owing to the licence given to the disorderly elements of the community. The following facts, however, afford ample testimony that these statements are no exaggeration.

From a return published in the House of Commons on April 15th, 1912, it is shown that the number of agrarian outrages during the five years of Liberal

Photo by Elliott & Fry

THE RIGHT HON. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, K.C., M.P.
Chief Secretary for Ireland under the present Liberal Administration.

administration (1907–11) is almost double the number which occurred during the preceding five years.

The exact figures are 1,160 cases under the Unionist administration from 1902–6 and 2,119 cases under the Liberal administration from 1907–11.[1]

It is unfortunately a matter beyond dispute that whenever a Liberal Government has been in power, owing to the weakness of the central authority, crime and violence have broken out in Ireland. The same conditions of lawlessness in Ireland, encouraged by the Nationalist Party, existed in the days of Mr. Gladstone as exist to-day under Mr. Asquith. In each case the agitators of the Nationalist Party have pursued the policy of extracting concessions by appeals to violence; and when the Nationalist Members of Parliament openly encourage intimidation and disorder, it is not surprising that their irresponsible and uneducated followers have had recourse to serious and violent crimes.

Since the Liberal Government allowed the Peace Preservation Act to expire in 1906 and declined to renew it, there have been in Ireland—

> 807 shooting and bomb outrages, resulting in 31 people killed, 196 people wounded, 329 people arrested, 137 persons convicted.[2]

The small proportion of convictions is a clear indication of the incapacity of the authorities to secure the detection and punishment of the criminals owing to the intimidation of juries and witnesses.

This view is supported by the remarks of the Lord

[1] *Parl. Debates*, April 15th, 1912, column 156–7.
[2] House of Commons Paper, No. 120, of 1912.

Chief Justice of Ireland at the Clare Assizes in March, 1912: "In the districts that he had referred to there was grievous intimidation and reluctance to assist the authorities, which resulted from intimidation, and that was a very serious thing. Some people said, 'Oh, the Clare Assizes! See the few cases; remarkable proof of the crimelessness of the county.' But it was no proof at all—in fact, it was the worst sign of the county, because it showed so much demoralisation and intimidation that the people were afraid to come forward to give evidence. Instead of its being an indication that there was no crime in the county, it showed that there was not only crime, but an aggravation of the position by terrorism." [1]

It should be noted that, almost without exception, these violent agrarian crimes take place in the country districts and the small agricultural towns of the West of Ireland, and should not be attributed to the ordinary classes of crime which are inevitable in all large cities all over the world. It is impossible to imagine such a state of things existing in any agricultural district in England.

From figures published in the House of Commons, it appears that the number of persons boycotted in Ireland increased from January, 1907, to January, 1912, by 74 per cent., the exact figures being 216 and 366 respectively [2]; while the number of persons receiving special police protection in Ireland increased by 80 per cent. in the same period.

The abominable crime of boycotting is the direct

[1] *Cork Examiner*, March 4th, 1912.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, February 26th, 1912, cols. 1135–6 and 1137–8.

result of the teaching of the agitators of the Nationalist Party and the United Irish League. For instance, D. Sheehy, Nationalist M.P. for Meath, at a meeting of the United Irish League at Kent's town, Co. Meath, on September 28th, 1908, said—

"To give him a full, strong measure of boycotting, deep and wide, that is what I would ask the people to do. Deal not with him, speak not with him, associate not with him. If he goes to buy, let him find people who will sell to him, but let it not be you. When he goes to sell, let no man buy from him." . . .[1]

The official members of the Nationalist Party are generally careful to keep in the background, and leave the direct incitement to violence and intimidation to the local officials of the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. But the direct encouragement of criminal outrage and disorder by Nationalist Members of Parliament has been clearly demonstrated in the case of "cattle-driving"—a modern form of agrarian outrage, of which Mr. Ginnell, the Nationalist M.P. for North-West Meath, claims to be the inventor.

In October, 1906, an extensive campaign was inaugurated to break up the pasture lands of the large farms by inciting the disorderly elements in the agricultural districts to assemble and drive off the cattle and scatter them many miles from the farms. This disgraceful system, involving losses of thousands of pounds upon the unfortunate farmers, and in many cases inflicting terrible sufferings upon the cattle—beaten, driven, and maimed by the insensate mobs of

[1] *Irish Times*, September 28th, 1908.

peasants—has been the deliberate work of the agitators of the Nationalist Party. The fact is, indeed, freely admitted on all sides. It would be possible to fill a volume with extracts from inflammatory speeches by members of the Nationalist Party.

The following instances suffice to show how little regard the members of the Nationalist Party have for the " peace, order, and good government of Ireland " [1]:

Mr. Ginnell, M.P., at Mullingar on October 14th, 1906, said—

" The ranches should be broken up not only in Westmeath, but throughout all Ireland; . . . He advised them to leave the ranches unfenced, unused and unusable, unstocked and uncut: cursed by God, cursed by the people of Ireland." [2]

Mr. W. H. K. Redmond, M.P., brother of John Redmond, in Clare, on September 21st, 1908, said—

" The work of breaking up the ranches must go on. . . . He never advised a man to do what he was not prepared to do himself. . . ." [3]

Mr. J. Fitzgibbon, a prominent member of the United Irish League, and a Trustee of the Irish Parliamentary Fund, at Roscommon, May 31st, 1909:

" In driving the cattle off the grass land, they had hit upon a very successful weapon for bringing home to the Government their determination to have the land."

The terrible state into which the country was thrown by the organised conspiracy of the Nationalist

[1] The words of the present Home Rule Bill which define the purpose of the Irish Parliament.

[2] *Freeman's Journal*, October 19th, 1906.

[3] *Freeman's Journal*, September 22nd, 1908.

Party and their supporters is sufficiently indicated in the remarks of the Irish judges. So far back as March 4th, 1907, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, in his charge to the Grand Jury at the Clare Assizes, said—

" He regretted very much that it was not his pleasing privilege to congratulate them on the condition of the county. He was afraid that many parts of the county were in a demoralised and lawless condition."

" In a shire in England, if it was found necessary, either by special protection, or protection by patrol, to protect from risk of outrage thirty persons, what would be thought." [1]

At the Leitrim Assizes on the previous day, Mr. Justice Kenny, after alluding to several cases of particularly gross intimidation, concluded with the warning which all who understand the operations of the League will fully appreciate—

" In these latter cases, I regret to say, no one has been made amenable ; and when there is such a state of things it justifies the observation made by the learned Judge who presided at last Connaught Winter Assizes, who said that when the chain of terrorism was complete, no witness would give evidence and no jury would convict." [2]

Similarly, in the following year, at the Longford Quarter Sessions on January 20th, 1908, Judge Curran said—

" I deem it my duty to call your attention and that

[1] *Irish Times*, March 5th, 1907, and *Dublin Daily Express*, March 5th, 1907.

[2] *Dublin Daily Express*, March 5th, 1907.

of the public to the terrible state in which I find some portions of your county at the present moment. I refer now to the open, persistent, and long-continued conspiracy against certain individuals who refused to be frightened by mob violence. In October last, when addressing the Grand Jury, I referred to the same state of affairs, in the vain hope that some steps would be taken by the authorities to put an end to this persecution. . . . I find to-day that, during all these three months, from October to January, the boycotting and persecution has gone on unchecked. I see the laws under which we live are flouted and trampled underfoot and mob law lives triumphant. . . . Experience tells me that boycotting, long continued and persisted in, and as persistently resisted, has invariably led to serious crime and outrage, and even murder. . . . Let us hope that even at the eleventh hour the authorities will step in and extend to these persecuted people, not mercy, but common justice, and the protection to which they are entitled at the hands of the law. . . ." [1]

In Sligo, on March 7th, 1908, Mr. Justice Wright pointed out the true cause of the disorder—

" The only law respected or, at least, not respected, but the only law feared and obeyed was the law, not of the land, but of the United Irish League. . . ." [2]

The following extract from the address of Mr. Justice Kenny to the Grand Jury at the Connaught Winter Assizes, 1912, at Limerick, is the latest available. It would be possible to give extracts of a

[1] *Irish Times*, January 21st, 1908.
[2] *Irish Independent*, March 9th, 1908.

similar character from nearly every circuit of the judges—outside Ulster—during the past five years—

"The County of Limerick was stated to be in a peaceful state, but he would gather from the reports before him that such peace was only superficial since the July Assizes. . . . With regard to Roscommon and Galway, although he was informed that there was a slight improvement in portions of the latter county, the condition of things seemed to be still deplorable. In Roscommon there was a large increase of serious crime. . . . His Lordship regretted to say that in all the counties where that most cowardly form of intimidation (*i.e.*, shooting into dwelling-houses) had been exercised, the exertions of the police had been rendered ineffectual in making anyone amenable." [1]

The disastrous effect of this campaign upon the prosperity of Ireland is well indicated by Mr. McElroy, Resident Magistrate, at a trial of cattle-drivers at Ennis on April 10th, 1912, who pointed out that "the County of Clare was paying about £10,000 a year for crime (*i.e.*, for extra police and claims for malicious injuries out of the county rates).

The lamentable record of the Nationalist Party demonstrates that appeals to violence are the recognised stock-in-trade of the professional politician in the South and West of Ireland. The same methods of violence and intimidation are employed, whether the attack is directed against the policy of the Imperial Government or against a section of the Irish Nationalists who are in disagreement with the main body of the party. This is instanced in the disgraceful attack

[1] *Cork Examiner*, December 4th, 1912.

upon the Independent Nationalists (Mr. William O'Brien and his friends), who seceded from the party owing to a divergence of views as to the method to be adopted in carrying out the Home Rule campaign. For instance, at the election in Louth in 1910—when Mr. T. Healy was the Independent Nationalist candidate—the violence and intimidation resorted to by the supporters of the successful official Nationalist candidate resulted in an election petition and enquiry, with the consequence that the Nationalist Member was unseated.

The following extract from the report of the presiding Judge (Mr. Justice Gibson) indicates the nature of the methods adopted—

" The meeting (at Dundalk) was to begin at 8 o'clock, but when the time came it was found that the hall was occupied in force by Mr. Hazleton's supporters, who appear to have thrown some stones at the platform, and not allowed Mr. Healy's speakers to address the meeting. . . . In result, the advertised meeting was held in a small ante-room, 10 feet square. When the proceedings terminated, there was great difficulty in getting Mr. Healy away in safety ; and the police had to deposit him for the time being in a house of Mr. Hamill, not far from his hotel, the windows of which were broken."

When the election came on, Mr. Healy did not attempt to canvass in Dundalk, but had to confine his efforts to his committee rooms ; and passing to and from them, was protected by a force of police amounting to thirty-five to forty men. " On polling day, the crowd forced their way into the enclosure

outside the booth. Mr. Healy was then assaulted. After the poll, the windows of eight of Mr. Healy's supporters were broken. The official Nationalists even boasted that Mr. Healy had to enter Dundalk under police protection, and that he had not addressed a single open-air meeting, except one in the dark." "In Carlingford," the Judge continues, "the state of things that I have described is deplorable."

It represents the exclusion of a candidate from his rights as a citizen. When Mr. Healy arrived at the polling booth in Louth, which was held in a schoolhouse, his motor was attacked by a violent crowd. The schoolhouse was assailed with stones, whilst Mr. Healy was inside; and the head constable told him that it would be dangerous to life and limb if he went, so he was held up by a fierce mob for two hours.

This report of the Judge demonstrates that recourse to violence and corruption is inseparable from the politics of the Nationalist Party, irrespective of the political sentiments of their opponents.

The moral to be drawn from the comparison of this painful record with the condition of Ireland under the preceding Unionist administration is that, given a sound policy of reform, good government, and the strict administration of the law, Ireland under the Union is peaceful and contented; but so soon as the central Government is weak enough to allow free play to the criminal conspiracies of the professional agitator, Ireland is again plunged into a state of discord and criminal oppression.

If these things are possible while Ireland is still under the control of the Imperial Parliament, it is

appalling to contemplate the handing over of Ireland to the professional politicians of the Nationalist Party, freed from the control of the Parliament at Westminster. It should be borne in mind that the organised Secret Societies, the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who control the selection of candidates for the Nationalist Party to-day, would exercise the same power over the selection of candidates for a Parliament at Dublin, so that the Irish Parliament would be comprised of the very men who have organised the campaign of violence and intimidation referred to above.

The argument used by advocates of Home Rule to rebut the damning evidence contained in the past record of the Nationalist Party is that, given self-government, the Nationalists would become reformed characters ; that they have promised loyalty, toleration, and freedom from oppression ; and ought to be believed.

In fact, the Nationalist Party have deliberately broken their pledged word in the past, and there is no reason to suppose that they will be any more trustworthy in the future. It is difficult to imagine a more flagrant breach of an honourable undertaking than is illustrated by the action of the Nationalist Party in connection with the powers of Local Government conferred upon Ireland by the Unionists in 1898.

From a purely legal point of view, since the Local Government Act, 1898, the system of Local Government has been identical with that in England, the management of local affairs being in the hands of popularly elected County and Borough Councils, and

District Councils—Urban and Rural—with precisely the same powers as the corresponding authorities in Great Britain—except in regard to education.

Viewed from a practical standpoint, however, the working of the system is widely different from that existing in England—for the history of Local Government in Ireland since the passing of the Act of 1898 has been a lamentable record of broken faith on the part of the Irish Nationalist Party.

At the time of the passing of the Act Mr. John Redmond was profuse in assurances that the Unionist minority should receive a fair share of representation on the local bodies to be set up under the new Act.

Speaking at Cork on June 13th, 1897, Mr. John Redmond said—

"On this question of Mr. Balfour's Local Government Scheme I want to say one or two serious words. . . . If the people use these new powers with moderation and sobriety, if a spirit of toleration and freedom guides these local assemblies, *if no effort is made to exclude any class or creed—no matter how hostile they may have been to the people in the past*—then I believe much good may come from the Local Government Scheme. . . . Our duty, under these circumstances, is quite plain: we will accept this Local Government measure of Mr. Balfour's, and *we will use all our power and influence in Ireland to see that it is worked in this country in a spirit of freedom, of toleration, and of justice to all creeds and classes of our fellow-countrymen.*" [1]

[1] *Irish Independent*, June 14th, 1897.

387866

Again, at Dublin, on September 13th, 1898, Mr. John Redmond said—

"We desire toleration in the public life of Ireland. We desire to see the best men selected to all these public bodies in Ireland; and we think that to adopt the policy of excluding from these public bodies every man who differed from us politically, or religiously, would be an absolutely suicidal policy for Irish Nationalists to adopt. For my part, and I think I speak in the name of the Parnellites of Dublin, for my part *I would be willing to give them, not only in Dublin, but all through Ireland, a fair—I will say even a generous—share of representation upon these bodies.*" [1]

Could anything be plainer? Whether Mr. Redmond was speaking with his tongue in his cheek and never intended to act up to his assurances, or whether circumstances proved too strong for him and he found himself obliged to bend to the dictates of the intolerant section of the Party, he alone can answer.

It was, of course, not to be expected that he would eat his words immediately after the passing of the Act; but other members of the Nationalist Party apparently suffered under no such restraint.

Mr. John Dillon, speaking at Doobeg on December 16th, 1898, said—

"In dealing with the candidates for the County Council, I say you ought to select honest men, capable men, and good fighting Nationalists; and I would put to every man who comes forward as a candidate, first of all, the pledge whether he is for the national rights of Ireland to govern her own affairs, and whether in

[1] *Irish Independent*, September 14th, 1898.

the County Council he will support on all occasions any action that is taken in support of the national cause."

Similarly at Charlestown, on December 5th, 1898, Mr. Dillon said—

"I trust that no man will be allowed to go into the County Council of Mayo, as representative of the people who is not determined to use all his influence in that County Council . . . to forward the principles of the United Irish League." [1]

In 1901, Mr. Dillon was already able to point to the success which had attended on the advice he gave three years before. Speaking at Newtownbutler on October 4th, 1901, he said—

"One of the great weapons which we have obtained for you by our work in Parliament is the control of the District and County Councils. . . . Let it be known beforehand that no man need come and ask for your vote unless he has proved himself to be a friend of the people by joining the United Irish League; and not only joining the United Irish League, but honestly working for it and sticking by its principles; and, believe me, if you act in this spirit at the elections, you will find that you have in them a mighty, an all-powerful weapon through the League throughout all Ireland."

Speeches are recorded couched in the same triumphant vein by Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., Mr. William Redmond, M.P., and various other prominent members of the Party; but the crowning insult was to come from Mr. John

[1] *Freeman's Journal*, December 6th, 1898.

Redmond, the prophet of toleration, who had professed his willingness to give a generous share of representation on the local bodies to those who differed from him politically and religiously.

Speaking in Cork on July 18th, 1902, after the municipal elections of 1902, he said—

"We have in the County and District Councils a weapon, the full force of which I believe is not thoroughly understood. . . . *They form a network of Nationalist organisations all over Ireland.* If the other organisations are struck (referring to the possible suppression of the United Irish League), I doubt not they would be willing to come forward and take their place, and in their council chambers carry on the National work."

The resolutions of the United Irish League and of its branches all over the country testify how loyally the advice of Mr. Dillon was carried out. So early as December 18th, 1898, a resolution was passed at a meeting of the United Irish League at Ballylongford—

"That we pledge ourselves to support no candidate for the office of county or district councillor who is not an outspoken Nationalist and a firm supporter of Home Rule." [1]

And again at Boyle, on February 28th, 1899, a meeting of the League resolved—

"That we will vote for no candidate at the County or District Elections who is not a member of the United Irish League and does not pledge himself to its principles." [2]

[1] *Freeman's Journal*, December 19th, 1898.
[2] *Freeman's Journal*, March 1st, 1899

It would be tedious to record the number of resolutions that have been passed from that time forward, but for sheer effrontery the following is worth quoting—

At the Killargue branch of the League in May, 1908, it was resolved : " At the approaching Local Government election, candidates selected by the United Irish League, and those only, are to receive the entire support of the voters and non-voters too, in the several electoral divisions."

To those familiar with the working of the League, the significance of the veiled threat contained in this resolution will be apparent.

The word of the League having gone forth that none but its members were to be elected to the County and District Councils, there is little more to be said. The complete success of the conspiracy to shut out Unionists from a share in the Local Government of the country is apparent from a return compiled in 1911, from which it appears that, taking the whole of Ireland outside Ulster, *out of* 703 *County Councillors, there were only* 15 *Unionists as against* 684 *Nationalists.*

In Munster there are 225 Nationalist and 2 Unionist Councillors ; in Leinster there are 12 Unionist, 317 Nationalist, and 4 Indefinite ; in Connaught there is only 1 Unionist County Councillor against 142 Nationalists.

In 13 out of the 24 County Councils under consideration, there is not a single Unionist County Councillor.

This is what Mr. Redmond calls " a fair, and even a generous, share of representation."

Is it to be wondered that the Unionists of Ireland

refuse to trust in his present professions of loyalty and devotion to their interests ?

A complete analysis of the political representation on County Councils is shown below.

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION ON IRISH COUNTY COUNCILS

(Compiled by the Irish Unionist Alliance, 109 Grafton Street, Dublin.)

Counties.	Unionist.	Nationalist.	Indefinite.	Liberal.	Total Members.
ULSTER—					
Antrim	20	1	—	4	25
Armagh	21	8	1	—	30
Cavan	—	25	—	—	25
Donegal	5	26	—	1	32
Down	17	9	—	4	30
Fermanagh	15	12	—	—	27
Londonderry	18	6	—	—	24
Monaghan	3	23	1	—	27
Tyrone	16	12	—	1	29
Total	115	122	2	10	249

Counties.	Unionist.	Nationalist.	Indefinite.	Total Members.
MUNSTER—				
Clare	—	29	—	29
Cork	—	54	—	54
Kerry	—	28	—	28
Limerick	1	29	—	30
Tipperary (N. Riding)	—	27	—	27
Tipperary (S. Riding)	—	32	—	32
Waterford	1	26	—	27
Total	2	225	—	227
LEINSTER—				
Carlow	—	25	—	25
Dublin	4	21	1	26
Kildare	1	26	1	28
Kilkenny	1	28	—	29
King's County	1	26	—	27
Longford	—	23	1	24
Louth	1	31	—	32
Meath	2	27	—	29
Queen's County	—	29	—	29

Counties.	Unionist.	Nationalist.	Indefinite.	Total Members.
Westmeath	1	30	—	31
Wexford	1	24	1	26
Wicklow	—	27	—	27
Total	12	317	4	333
CONNAUGHT—				
Galway	1	31	—	32
Leitrim	—	23	—	23
Mayo	—	33	—	33
Roscommon	—	29	—	29
Sligo	—	26	—	26
Total	1	142	—	143

ANALYSIS

Province.	Unionist.	Nationalist.	Indefinite.	Liberal.	Total.
ULSTER	115	122	2	10	249
MUNSTER	2	225	—	—	227
LEINSTER	12	317	4	—	333
CONNAUGHT ..	1	142	—	—	143
TOTAL ..	130	806	6	10	952

February, 1911.

Nor does the matter end there. One would have imagined that the purpose of the United Irish League was achieved by excluding all but its own members from the local bodies. In fact, however, throughout the whole of Ireland, with the exception of Ulster, the county and district councillors are the obedient tools of the United Irish League, to whose orders they are bound to submit.

Not only is membership of the League an essential qualification for every candidate, but pledges are frequently extracted from candidates that they will carry out the orders of the League and will resign membership at any time if called upon by the League to do so.

The following are typical cases—

Drumshanbo Branch (Co. Leitrim) United Irish League—

"That we condemn the action of the district Councillors who refused to vote for *the Nationalist Candidate* for the medical officership of Rowan Dispensary district. We call on the League to expel from membership the District Councillors who have betrayed their trust."[1]

A flagrant instance of League interference was recorded at a meeting of the Boyle (No. 1) District Council on June 11th, 1912. At the opening of the meeting the Clerk announced that the first business was the election of chairmen for the coming year. A member rose to propose a candidate, when the Clerk interposed that he had some correspondence, and read the following letter—

"Dear Sir,—I am directed by the North Roscommon Executive of the United Irish League to inform the members of the Boyle Union that they have unanimously selected and recommended the following candidates for the various chairs: For the Boyle No. 1 District Council, Mr. John Keaveney as Chairman, and Mr. James Sharkey as Vice-Chairman.

"Yours, THOMAS COLEMAN, *Hon. Sec.*"

Upon this, a member made the significant remark: "*There can be no kicking over the traces now*"; and after an acrimonious discussion by some of the members who objected to the interference of the League, the two candidates proposed by the League

[1] *Roscommon Herald*, March 30th, 1912.

were elected—the chairman by 25 votes to 9 and the vice-chairman unanimously.[1]

The above are two of many similar cases which occurred only last year. They are merely examples of what has been happening every day in Ireland during the last fourteen years since the Local Government Act was passed. Numerous instances could be cited from the local Press, but it would be tedious to record them.[2]

It may readily be imagined that if such open and avowed tyranny is publicly recorded and acquiesced in, the pressure put upon candidates and members by the League Executive in private makes it impossible for them to retain that liberty of conscience and freedom of action which are essential to the effective working of a democratic system of local government. No reform, however beneficial, can be achieved if the League objects. No piece of jobbery or corruption, however infamous, can be denounced if the League insists.

The above quite recent illustrations and many others, for which there is not space within the limits of this chapter, have been recorded in spite of the care which is being taken at the present time to mask the real aims and sentiments of the League, owing to Mr. Redmond's present policy of professing loyalty and toleration. The following remarks made at a local meeting of the United Irish League are significant of the duplicity of those taking part in the movement.

[1] Abridged from report in the *Roscommon Herald*, June 15th, 1912.
[2] See Cambray's *Irish Affairs*, p. 103, *et seq.*

At a meeting of the Killala (Co. Mayo) Branch of the United Irish League, the Chairman (Mr. P. W. Durkan)—a prominent local Nationalist—gave the following advice—

"He thought it well to inform the meeting as to the cautiousness that active members should proceed with by way of drafting resolutions, etc. There was not a Nationalist newspaper printed in Ireland that anything like a strong resolution appeared in but what was sent to the House of Commons; and a certain number of English, Scotch, and Irish Tories selected specially to look them up and direct the attention of anti-Home Rulers to the state of Ireland." [1]

From an English point of view, one of the most remarkable characteristics of Irish Local Government is the large amount of time devoted by County and District Councils to the discussion of political questions and the passing of political resolutions. Having regard to the influence of the United Irish League, such a condition of things is only to be expected. It is unnecessary to multiply illustrations, but the following resolution passed at the time of the South African War demonstrates the degree of political feeling which is allowed to interrupt the proper discussion of local matters.

Resolution passed at a meeting of the Mayo County Council, December 2nd, 1899, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., in the chair—

"That we, the members of the Mayo County Council, congratulate the gallant Boers on their brilliant defeats of the troops of the pirate Saxon. That we hope that

[1] *Western People*, June 22nd, 1912.

a just Providence will strengthen the arms of these farmer fighters in their brave struggle for their independence. And we trust that as Babylon fell, and as Rome fell, so also may fall the race and nation whose creed is the creed of greed and whose God is the God of Mammon."[1]

At the present time, discussions and resolutions on the subject of Home Rule and kindred matters are an everyday occurrence.

The unfortunate results of the intrusion of party politics on all occasions are nowhere shown more plainly than in the history of the General Council of Irish County Councils. That body was constituted for the same purpose as similar bodies in England and Scotland, in order to facilitate the exchange of ideas between County Councils, and to ensure wherever possible a uniform policy in local Government throughout Ireland.

The Chairman (Sir T. Esmonde) made an announcement at the time of its establishment to the effect that the deliberations of the Council would not be concerned with Party politics, but unfortunately the party politician—the inevitable Nemesis of Ireland—decreed otherwise ; and in October, 1904, owing to a breach of the understanding that political subjects should not be discussed, the representatives of Ulster found themselves compelled to withdraw, and since that date the so-called General Council of Irish County Councils have been nothing but a body of Nationalist delegates who meet to discuss and pass resolutions on

[1] This resolution was afterwards adopted by twenty-seven Irish Nationalist Local Councils.

Home Rule in all its bearings (*e.g.*, the report of the Council in April, 1912, on the financial provisions of the present Home Rule Bill).

It is particularly regrettable that a body of this kind, which is essentially a consultative body for local purposes, and should be doing much to bring together the different parts of the country to a closer union and understanding, should have been engineered into a political machine to suit the purposes of the United Irish League. But where the interests of Nationalist agitators are concerned, no institution, however beneficial to the nation, is free from interference.

It is therefore idle to suppose that in the event of a Parliament being set up at Dublin, the Nationalist Party would be willing or able to abandon the tactics which have disgraced Irish politics for the past half century and which appear to be the only form of statecraft adaptable to Nationalist ideas.

It is abundantly apparent that the only form of government which can permanently and successfully obtain in Ireland is government by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, with the strong central authority able to hold the balance impartially and administer the law fairly and evenly. It has been shown that with strong government and sound reform, factions and agitation have been reduced to a minimum. Given time to allow the development of the full fruits of Unionist policy, there is little room for doubt that the Irish people will realise, as they are beginning to do, who are their real friends and who are the real enemies of Ireland. The farmers of the now prosperous West of Ireland are already beginning to

understand how they have been duped and tricked in the past by the agitators of the Nationalist Party. Many a Western farmer is at heart a Unionist, but dare not publicly confess it for fear of the League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

In spite of the plausible rhetoric of Mr. Redmond or the fiery declamations of Mr. Devlin and Mr. Dillon, the fact stands out clearly that the Nationalist Party have not made use of the enormous power which they possess by their votes in the House of Commons to assist in carrying out a sound and beneficial programme of reform. Whatever has been done by the Unionist Party has been carried out in the face of the violent obstruction or studied aloofness of the Nationalist members,[1] who oppose every proposal that is likely to produce peace and prosperity in Ireland on the ground that it is likely to weaken the demand for Home Rule.

[1] The Right Hon. Gerald Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1895 to 1900, writes in *Against Home Rule* (1912): "I should imagine that there has seldom, if ever, been an important political party which has exhibited so little constructive ability as the Irish Parliamentarians. Their own legislative proposals during the last thirty years have been a negligible quantity, and I think I am justified in saying that there is not one of the great measures passed by the Unionist Government since 1886 which has not been either opposed by the accredited leaders of the party, or, at best, received with carping and futile, rather than helpful criticism."

CHAPTER IV

ULSTER

"They have rights who dare maintain them"
James Russell Lowell

In considering the opposition in Ireland to Home Rule, it is desirable to examine both the number of those who are opposed to the proposal and the extent to which they are interested in the prosperity and well-being of the country. In so far as the counting of heads is a test of Irish opinion, it is admitted that there is in Ireland, outside Ulster, a large majority in favour of Home Rule. On the other hand, the extent of the opposition is not accurately represented by the number of Irish Unionist Members who sit in the House of Commons, nor by the number of votes cast in favour of Unionist candidates. Owing to the number of Nationalist Members who are returned to Parliament unopposed from the South and West of Ireland,[1] the Unionists outside Ulster have no opportunity of recording their votes; but their number is neither so small nor are they so scattered as to be insignificant.

It is, indeed, impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the proportions of the population who are for and against Home Rule; but, as a rough and

[1] At the last election fifty-three Nationalist members out of eighty-four were returned unopposed and twenty of the contests were between the official Nationalist Party and the Independent Nationalists.

Photo by Elliott & Fry

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY, K.G.
President of the Ulster Unionist Council.

ready test, the religious opinions of the inhabitants determine the question.

According to the Census of 1911[1] there were—

Roman Catholics..	some $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions
Protestants (of all denominations) ..	some $1\frac{3}{8}$ millions

It should be borne in mind that this calculation necessarily errs in favour of the Home Rulers, since the number of Roman Catholics who are opposed to Home Rule is far in excess of the comparatively small number of Protestant Home Rulers.

Roughly speaking, however, it may be assumed that between one-third and one-fourth of the population of Ireland are opposed to the dismemberment of the United Kingdom.

When we come to examine the quality of the opposition, we find that almost without exception the solid interests in the community are ranged against Home Rule. All those who have contributed most to the prosperity of the country are filled with dismay at the prospect of handing over the commercial and economic interests of Ireland to the control of a Nationalist Parliament.

Indeed the remarkable admission has been made by a prominent Nationalist—Professor Kettle—the father of the Nationalist ex-Member of Parliament of that name, and at the time he made the statement one of the treasurers of the United Irish League—

[1]

Roman Catholics	3,238,656
Irish Church	575,489
Presbyterians	439,876
Methodists	61,806
All other Christian denominations ..	57,718
Jews	5,101
Information refused	3,305

"Let us just quietly examine the composition of the United Irish League. On its roll of membership there are no landlords or ex-landlords, few merchants, fewer Irish manufacturers. There are few of the men who are managing the business of Ireland in city or town connected with the League. The bankers who regulate our finances, the railway or transit men who control our trade—internal and external—even the leading cattle-men who handle most of our produce, are not to be found in its ranks." [1]

In fact to-day, as in 1886 and 1893, the elements which constitute the learning, wealth, and prosperity of Ireland are opposed to Home Rule. The main body of opposition is, of course, in Ulster, and accordingly it is to Ulster[2] we must look to voice Unionist sentiment in Ireland.

The people of Ulster are emphatic, united, and determined in their opposition to Home Rule; and their share in the industry and prosperity of Ireland entitles them to a degree of consideration far in excess of their actual numbers.

In the first place, the opinion of the City of Belfast is entitled to respect not alone on account of its position as the industrial centre of Ireland, but as one of the chief ports of the United Kingdom.

Taking the amount of Customs duties paid annually as the test of the amount of commerce passing through

[1] *Freeman's Journal*, July 18th, 1907.

[2] By Ulster in this connection is meant not the geographical province of Ulster, but the Unionist counties of Down, Antrim, Armagh, Londonderry, Fermanagh, and Tyrone, together with the adjacent Unionist sections of Monaghan, Cavan, and Donegal, including therein the cities of Belfast and Londonderry.

any port, Belfast stands fourth among the ports of the United Kingdom, ranking next after London, Liverpool, and Bristol.

The thriving condition of the City [1] is well indicated in the following extract from the report of the Council of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce—adopted at a general meeting of the Chamber on June 11th, 1912, with only three dissentients—

"So far as Belfast is concerned, its progress since the Union has been continuous. In 1783, we find its population was 13,105; in 1891 it was 255,950; while the Registrar-General's estimate at April 1st, 1912, was 391,051. Thus, since the rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1893, the population of Belfast has increased by over 50 per cent. In 1893 the valuation of Belfast was £741,000; in 1912 its valuation is £1,543,919. The total local taxation to-day (including Water and Poor Rates) stands at 7s. 1d. in the £, that of Dublin being 10s. 3d., and that of Cork 10s. 6d. The funds at command of the three Banks having head offices in Belfast were, in 1892, £14,797,285; in 1911 they aggregated £25,107,600. The amount collected by the Customs Department, Belfast, for

[1] In view of the unfounded allegations of the existence in Belfast of disgraceful slum districts it is interesting to record the unanimous findings of a Health Commission of impartial experts from Great Britain appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1908 to enquire into the sanitary condition of Belfast. They report that "the people are well housed. . . . Slums are rare in Belfast. . . . There is an almost complete absence of antiquated courts, alleys and common yards, such as may be seen in Dublin and Cork, and also in many of the older seaport towns in England and Wales. . . . Both in respect of room accommodation and in respect of the scale of charge for rent, Belfast is greatly favoured in comparison with other towns."

1892 was £2,376,511, and by the Inland Revenue Department about £900,000, making together £3,250,000. The total receipts collected by the former (including duty on British spirits) in 1911 was £3,647,686, and by the latter £1,267,691, making together £4,915,377, being from these sources a contribution to Imperial Revenue more than double that of the rest of Ireland, and surpassed by no other city in the United Kingdom, except London, Liverpool, and Bristol. In 1893 the tonnage of vessels clearing from Belfast was 2,002,629, and in 1911 2,841,553. The registered tonnage of the ports of Great Britain in 1910 was 13,361,988; that of all the ports of Ireland, 359,853; and of the latter, Belfast holds upwards of 74 per cent. Belfast can show the largest shipyard, the largest tobacco factory, distillery, ropeworks, and linen factory in the world; and it is satisfactory to be able to state that, according to the latest Board of Trade returns, the rate of pauperism in Belfast is the lowest of any city in the United Kingdom, being only 107 per 10,000, as against 296 in Dublin, 336 in Cork, 263 in Glasgow, 228 in Manchester, 220 in Liverpool, 209 in Bristol, and 210 the average for the United Kingdom. Nor is the very gratifying record in regard to pauperism at present possessed by our city by any means accidental; for many years Belfast in this respect has been able to claim an equally enviable position.

In considering the significance of the industrial growth of Belfast as illustrated by the foregoing statistics, it is important to recollect that coal and practically all the raw materials for our industries—

such as iron, steel, flax, tobacco, grain, etc.—have to be imported, and that it is outside of Ireland that the chief markets for our products are found. The fact that our industrial growth is due to the developments of trade with England and Scotland, and is also of an international character, and, further, that the amount of trade done by our shipbuilding and manufacturing concerns for Irish clients is comparatively trivial, amply justifies our desire for the maintenance always of the closest relations with Great Britain and complete association with the world-wide prestige of the United Kingdom in which we freely participate.

"It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the progress of Belfast has been made under precisely the same laws as those governing the other cities and provinces of Ireland. No privilege has been, or is, enjoyed by Belfast that has not been equally within reach of every other city or town in our island."

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the prosperity of Ulster is confined to the city of Belfast. An examination of the industries of Ireland shows that throughout the counties of Armagh, Down, and Antrim, and parts of Tyrone, Derry, and Monaghan, the linen, flax-spinning, and various other industries are in a flourishing condition. It is, indeed, remarkable that with a few isolated exceptions, such as Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, the industrial activity of Ireland is confined to the North-East.

This disparity is the more remarkable because Ulster, in respect of natural resources, possesses no advantage, and is indeed the least favoured of all four provinces.

Nor do the people of Ulster enjoy any preference or privilege over the inhabitants of the rest of Ireland. The allegation of "ascendancy" is a myth in the imagination of those who are at a loss to explain away the prosperity of Ulster, which is due alone to the skill, determination, and hard work of the population.

It should be unnecessary to emphasise that since the Act of Union in 1800, all parts of the United Kingdom have enjoyed the same commercial rights, and it is an idle misrepresentation to allege that the people of Ulster have been singled out for special advantages which have enabled them to rise to their present prosperous condition. Indeed, the much-abused Act of Union was the means of putting Ireland on an equal footing with England, and of putting an end to the short-sighted policy of preferring English industries to Irish, which had at times marred the administration of the British Government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It has also been alleged that the prosperity of Ulster is due to the policy of the British Parliament before the Act of Union, on the one hand of preventing the importation into England of woollen goods from Ireland, and on the other of conferring a privilege upon the linen trade, thereby crippling the South and West and conferring a material advantage upon Belfast and the surrounding district.

The statement is grossly inaccurate, and at the risk of a digression it is worth examining the fallacy underlying it, if only to show the caution with which it is necessary to treat the statements of those who put forward the argument of a Protestant "ascendancy."

It is quite true that the British Government had at various times *before the Union* yielded to the pressure of the commercial interests in England and imposed restrictions on Irish trade, particularly in the matter of the import of Irish woollen goods. Indeed, this short-sighted policy was not the least of the evils which embittered the relations between the two countries before the Act of Union. On the other hand, there was no privilege conferred upon Belfast in respect of the linen industry or anything else. Not only so, but at the time of the Act of Union the linen industry was distributed all over Ireland. In the town of Belfast the manufacture of linen was almost unknown, though hand-weaving was extensively carried on in the houses of the surrounding country and sold in the Belfast market.

From Benn's *History of Belfast*, published early in the nineteenth century, we learn that at that time "the principal manufacture of the town was *cotton* in all its branches. In 1807, Belfast contained 723 looms, only four of which were for weaving linen."

On the other hand, the linen industry which originated at Lurgan and Lisburn, was actively assisted by the Irish Parliament through the Linen Board, which distributed grants to every county in Ireland —the headquarters of the Board being at Dublin. The Board was composed of prominent noblemen and gentlemen from all four provinces; and it appears that in the eighteenth century special efforts were made to encourage the industry in the South and West by additional Parliamentary grants to Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; and by the middle of the

eighteenth century every county in Ireland was engaged in the production of linen.

The pre-eminence of Belfast in the linen industry did not develop until a much later date, and was due to the genius of Andrew Mulholland—a Belfast cotton merchant—who first introduced into Ireland, in 1830, the production of linen *yarn* by machinery.

Before his time the practice had been to export flax to Manchester, where it was spun and re-imported as yarn. The stimulus to the linen industry of Belfast was immediate. The Ulster manufacturer rose to the occasion and adopted the new methods ; while on the other hand the linen industry in other parts of Ireland, which was already declining, failed to respond to the new conditions, and gradually disappeared. The cause of the disappearance had no connection with the Act of Union, nor is the successful industry of Ulster due to any political privilege or advantage. It is due to the industry, determination and common sense of the inhabitants.

What then are the reasons for which the men of Ulster—the most prosperous, the most loyal, and the most law-abiding part of Ireland—refuse to submit to the control of a Nationalist Parliament in Dublin ?

They base their opposition on the fact that they believe that Home Rule would ruin their industrial prosperity, would subvert their fundamental rights of citizenship, and would place the country under the domination of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

First, in regard to religion. It is not suggested that anything is to be feared in the nature of religious persecution in the mediæval sense ; but the events

of the past few years have shown that even under the Imperial Parliament the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church have not scrupled to interfere with the fundamental rights of Protestant members of the community.

In 1908 a Papal decree—commonly called the 'Ne Temere' Decree—was promulgated, which in effect declared void marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants, unless celebrated before the Roman Catholic priest of the parish or his deputy.[1] The decree is binding on all Roman Catholics.

It is hardly necessary to say that the law of the land recognises no such condition. The religious beliefs of the parties to a marriage, or the ritual by which it is celebrated, are immaterial; the only requirement of the law is that it shall be solemnised before the proper official—either a duly accredited clergyman of any religious denomination, or a civil registrar of marriages.

Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic clergy insist that "mixed marriages" are void (and the children of them illegitimate) unless celebrated before a Roman Catholic priest.

The notorious McCann case is the most notable illustration. The facts are set out in the following memorial of the Belfast Presbytery to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Ireland), which was considered by the Assembly on June 8th, 1911, and approved—

[1] "No marriage is valid which is not contracted in the presence of the (Roman) parish priest of the place, or of the Ordinary, or of a priest deputed by them, and of two witnesses at least."

"That the Presbytery has had under consideration the case of Mrs. McCann, a member of Townsend Street Congregation, Belfast, who was married to her Roman Catholic husband in a Presbyterian church by a Presbyterian minister in May, 1908; that the Papal Decree, 'Ne Temere,' which came into operation at Easter, 1908, declares that such marriages contracted between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant are null and void unless celebrated in the presence of a Roman Catholic priest; that in the summer of last year (1910) Mr. and Mrs. M'Cann were informed by a Roman Catholic priest that they were not married, and efforts were made to induce Mrs. M'Cann to consent to be re-married by a Roman Catholic priest, which she resolutely refused to do; that in consequence of her refusal to be re-married in accordance with the requirements of the 'Ne Temere' Decree, she was deserted by her husband and deprived of her children and her household effects, and left houseless and penniless on the streets of Belfast; that this sad case is only an illustration of the operation of the 'Ne Temere' Decree; that this decree is manifestly in conflict with the law of the land, which it seeks to over-ride, and is a direct incentive to the repudiation of the most sacred moral obligations and to breaches of the marriage vow, and it leads to the most bitter form of cruelty and hardship and injustice; that in the opinion of the Presbytery the Decree should be withdrawn, and that all available steps should be taken towards securing that end."

The Bishop of Down (Church of Ireland) has well described the appalling consequences of the decree—

"Even in the Protestant city of Belfast we have seen a faithful wife deserted and her children spirited away from her, in obedience to this cruel decree. And we have seen an executive afraid to do its duty, because Rome has spoken and justified the outrage. Those who know intimately what is happening here are aware of case after case in which husband or wife is living in daily terror of similar interference; and also know that Protestants married to Roman Catholics, and living in the districts where the latter are in an overwhelming majority, often find it impossible to stand against the odium arising from a bigoted and hostile public opinion."

The Government have satisfied themselves by inserting in the Home Rule Bill a proviso (in Clause 3) preventing the Irish Parliament from passing any law so as to make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage. They regard the prohibition as an effective safeguard. They fail to appreciate that these abuses have been committed in spite of the law: they fail to recognise that the danger is not one of improper legislation. No amount of restrictions on legislation would be effective to compel a Roman Catholic Parliament and Executive to restrain the illegal interference of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Roman Catholic Church is a law unto herself, and can only be controlled by a strong and independent executive.

Similar considerations apply to the recent ordinance issued by the Vatican: "De trahentibus clericos ad Tribunalia Judicum Laicorum"—commonly called the Motu Proprio decree, of October 9th, 1911. This

ordinance is the re-issue and more precise definition of an old law. It enacts that any person who, without permission from an ecclesiastical authority, summons before a lay court of justice any ecclesiastical person in any case—civil or criminal—incurs instant excommunication. The excommunication takes place automatically and absolution is reserved to the Pope himself. The decree applies equally to private individuals and public officials, and it is appalling to contemplate the power which it would give to the Roman Catholic clergy over their parishioners. The promulgation of the decree raised great alarm among the Protestants in Ireland. Considerable discussion took place as to the countries in which it was operative. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin wrote an elaborate letter to the newspapers, in which he gave his own opinion that the Decree is inoperative in the British Isles by the custom of the country—owing to the original impossibility of securing its observance. In other words, under the present conditions it would be impossible to enforce it. If Ireland were under a Roman Catholic Parliament, there is grave risk that the Vatican would attempt to make the decree binding on all Roman Catholics—private persons and officials.

Here, again, the Government imagine that they have done all that is necessary by prohibiting *legislation* to that effect, although it is clear that the only safeguard lies in the determination of the Executive to refuse to acquiesce in the decree. Given a weak Executive, the Roman Catholic clergy would take good care that the decree was enforced, and it is

hardly necessary to emphasise the power it would give them. They would be above the law.

The above are instances of clerical abuses, actual or impending. There is even greater danger to be feared of the establishment of clerical control throughout Ireland at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church—" a church which Protestants in Ireland know from history never wavers or hesitates in its endeavour to establish not only spiritual but civil and political power wherever it obtains a foothold." [1]

It is manifestly impossible to foretell in advance what forms the interference of the Roman Catholic Church would take ; her whole history is a sufficient indication of the danger of transferring the unfettered control of the civil authority into the hands of her supporters. In short, " it is possible to bring to a ' single point the reasons which make Irish Unionists ' so apprehensive as regards the religious difficulty ' under Home Rule. Their fears are not concerned ' with any special dogma of the Roman Church. But ' they recognise, as people in England do not, the ' inevitable tendency of the consistent and immemorial ' policy of the Church of Rome in relation to persons ' who refuse to submit to her claims. They know that ' policy to be one of absolute and uncompromising ' insistence on the exacting of everything which she ' regards as her right, as soon as she possesses the ' power. They know that for her toleration is only a ' temporary expedient. They know that professions

[1] Mr. Agar-Robartes, M.P., a Liberal opponent of Home Rule, one of the few of Mr. Asquith's supporters who have dared to vote against the party on the Home Rule question (*Parliamentary Debates*, June 11th, 1912).

'and promises made by individual Roman Catholics 'and by political leaders, statements which to English 'ears seem a happy augury of a good time coming, are 'of no value whatever. They do not deny that such 'promises and guarantees express a great deal of good 'intention ; but they know that above the individual, 'whether he be layman or ecclesiastic, there is a system 'which moves on, as soon as such movement becomes 'possible, in utter disregard of his statements."[1]

It is impossible to dissociate this aspect of the question from the fundamental Roman Catholic doctrine of "obedience" to the Church. When it is reflected that three-fourths of the Members of the Irish Parliament would be members of the Roman Catholic Church, it is apparent that the power of the Vatican to enforce obedience would inevitably be used to secure the advancement of the Church in every direction possible. It is not surprising that Protestants in Ireland view with alarm the prospect of being controlled by a Government whose policy would be moulded according to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In the Roman Catholic view every Protestant is a heretic and the conversion of every Protestant child in the country is an object to be aimed at. Looking only at the question of education, the power of an Irish Parliament to outrage the feelings of Protestant parents is undeniable and the temptation to use the power irresistible. It is true that in the present Bill safeguards have

[1] Extract from an essay on the "Religious Difficulty under Home Rule," by the Bishop of Down (Church of Ireland), the Rt. Rev. C. F. D'Arcy.

been inserted prohibiting legislation of a denominational character ; but in this, as in every other respect, the fear of oppression and intolerance lies not so much in unjust legislation as in the abuse of administrative power by an Executive responsible to a Roman Catholic Parliament. The ingenuity which is exercised to secure the advancement of the Roman Catholic religion is well illustrated in the recent action of the Irish County Councils in connection with their power to grant University scholarships out of the county rates.

Education in Ireland is in the control of the Commissioners of the National Board of Education, subject to the supervision of the Irish Secretary. Owing to the antagonistic feeling which exists between the Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations in Ireland, the practice in England of handing the control of education to the local authorities has not been followed.[1] Consequently, the County Councils have no power of interfering in educational matters. In the single instance where power to do so has been conferred upon them by statute, the action of those County Councils where the Roman Catholic Nationalists are in an overwhelming majority is significant of the manner in which education is likely to be treated by a Roman Catholic Parliament. The procedure adopted is ingenious, and illustrates the impossibility of inventing legislative safeguards which it is beyond the power of the United Irish League to circumvent.

[1] It must not be supposed from this that the regulation of the schools is reserved by the central authorities. As a matter of fact the Roman Catholic priest is in almost every case the manager of the Roman Catholic School in his parish.

Under Section 9 of the Irish Universities' Act, 1908, County Councils may assist by scholarships students from their respective counties at any university in Ireland, but *no grant under the Section may be subject to any religious qualification.* Mark the way in which the words in italics have been circumvented. The National University of Ireland, it is admitted, has been deliberately converted into a Roman Catholic University by Cardinal Logue and his colleagues.[1] Taking advantage of this fact, twelve out of the fifteen County Councils who instituted University Scholarships stipulated that they should be tenable only at the National (Roman Catholic) University or at one of its constituent colleges.

The effect is to exclude Protestant students from the benefit of these scholarships, unless the parents are content to send them to the proselytizing atmosphere of a Roman Catholic University.

The Irish Chief Secretary, in answer to a question by Sir John Lonsdale in the House of Commons, admitted that the restrictions were unreasonable, but was unable to suggest any remedy beyond the pious hope that they would not be continued.[2]

In spite of Mr. Birrell's suggestion, the County Councils maintain their attitude. The Executive Committee of the General Council of Irish County Councils[3] met on August 3rd, 1912, and passed a

[1] Cardinal Logue, speaking at Dundalk, June 6th, 1911 : " No matter what obstacles the Nonconformists of England may have inserted in the constitution of the University to keep it from being Catholic, we will make it Catholic in spite of them."

[2] *House of Commons Debates*, November 23rd, 1911.

[3] A purely Nationalist body. See last chapter.

resolution declining to recommend that County Council Scholarships should be tenable at any University in Ireland, and persisting in the determination to confine them to the National University.[1]

As the Nationalist County Councils have at once seized upon the only opportunity they have of victimising their Protestant brethren, it is not surprising that the Protestants of Ireland view with consternation the prospect of the whole educational system being handed over to a Roman Catholic Parliament at Dublin.

A close alliance exists between the Roman Catholic clergy and the Nationalist Party. The professional politician is astute enough to recognise the hold which the position of the parish priest gives him over his flock, while the clergy fully appreciate the danger to their authority which would be involved in a policy of opposition to the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

On the other hand, by a close alliance between the two forces each is able to help the other to the attainment of their respective purposes.

The parish priest actively assists in the local propaganda of the United Irish League. He frequently takes the chair at the local meetings of the League. At election times he is active in support, acting as the official "agent" for the Nationalist candidate or taking his stand outside the polling booth to canvass his parishioners as they come up to vote.

The collections for the party funds are usually at the gates of the Roman Catholic chapel on Sundays

[1] *Dublin Daily Express*, September 4th, 1912.

after Mass.[1] The publicity of the occasion and the organised reprisals which frequently await those who decline to subscribe to the collection outside the church are valuable indications of the practice of toleration of which Mr. Redmond is at present such an enthusiastic exponent.

It is, moreover, impossible to disregard the moral power of the priest over the minds of his uneducated parishioners.[2] No authority is needed to support the well-known fact that the Irish peasantry are completely under the thumb of the Roman Catholic clergy.

[1] Instances of this are an everyday occurrence. It would be possible to fill pages with announcements from the local press. The following are typical—

"MOYLOUGH BRANCH OF THE UNITED IRISH LEAGUE (COUNTY SLIGO).

"At a meeting on the 24th November, 1912, it was stated that 'the collection will be made at the chapel gate on the 8th December, and every man, young and old, is expected to take out his card of membership and become enrolled under the United Irish League banner.'"—*Connaught Tribune*, November 30th, 1912.

"TEMPLEDERRY BRANCH OF THE UNITED IRISH LEAGUE."

"A good gathering attended last Sunday's meeting. Father Cunningham, parish priest, presided. It was decided to hold a collection at the church gates in the several districts of the parish in aid of the branch funds on Sunday, December 10th, and following Sunday, when it is hoped every person in the parish will join the U.I.L."—*Nenagh News*, November 18th, 1911.

[2] At the risk of outraging my readers with a surfeit of quotations, I cannot resist giving an instance which occurred at a bye-election in 1911 at North Tyrone, where the parties are very evenly divided, and many Roman Catholics had declared their intention of voting for the Unionist candidate. The parish priest of Strabane—the chief place in the constituency, finished an electioneering speech on the eve of the poll as follows: "Any Nationalist voter who votes for Mr. Herdman (the Unionist candidate) or abstains from voting, will be a recreant to his country; he will not be voting according to his conscience, which every man is bound to, and for which he will be held responsible on the Day of Judgment." The Nationalist candidate was elected by the narrow majority of 18. *Verb. sap.*

Accordingly, one cannot fail to appreciate the significance of an appeal such as the following, which is typical of the methods employed to coerce obedience to the will of the Nationalist Party. The Rev. J. J. Hegarty, parish priest, speaking at the Glencastle Branch of the U.I.L. on June 16th, 1912, said : " He understood that there had not been a subscription sent to the Irish Parliamentary Fund for the past few years by the parish, and said it was downright dereliction of duty on the part of the people not to have given their financial support to a party which every Irishman the world over looks up to with pride." [1]

In short, the establishment of a Nationalist Parliament at Dublin would place the seal upon the bond which exists between the Nationalist agitators and the Roman Catholic clergy to maintain undisturbed their supremacy over the uneducated sections of the people of Ireland.

On the other hand, it is claimed that the grant of self-government to Ireland would be the best means of freeing the country from the control of the Roman Catholic clergy. It is true that in some countries democratic government, after a long lapse of time, has overthrown clerical control ; it is equally true that in other countries it has not had this effect. The province of Quebec is a notable example of clerical supremacy acting under the cloak of democratic institutions ; while the recent revolution in Portugal shows the danger of allowing clerical supremacy to maintain its foothold until displaced by a violent upheaval of public indignation. Whatever

[1] *Western People*, June 22nd, 1912.

might conceivably happen a hundred years hence, the present conditions in Ireland render it inevitable that under Home Rule, the Roman Catholic Church would for a long time have a predominant voice in the government of the country and the counsels of the Irish Parliament.

In addition to the fear of clerical domination, there is the added danger of persecution from political animosity, masquerading under the guise of religion. The powerful secret society—the "Ancient Order of Hibernians"—whose membership is restricted to Roman Catholics, and whose branches extend all over Ireland, would be the constant terror of Protestants under a Nationalist Parliament. The danger of this is illustrated by a recent incident, which aroused general indignation in the North of Ireland and in Great Britain.

At the end of June, 1912, public opinion was startled by the news of a violent attack by a party of the Ancient Order of Hibernians upon a Presbyterian Sunday school treat from Whiteabbey, near Belfast, mostly composed of children. The facts are contained in the following extracts from an account by an eye-witness. As the latter is a Welsh Nonconformist minister [1] and a supporter of Mr. Asquith's Government, there can be no question of Ulster prejudice or political bias.

"A fortnight ago I came to Whiteabbey to conduct some special Gospel Services. . . On Saturday, 29 June, the Whitehouse Presbyterian Sunday School

[1] The Rev. G. E. Thomas, of Ogmore Vale, South Wales. The account is contained in a letter dated July 4th, 1912.

went for their annual outing, and I was invited to go with them. The place chosen for the day was Castledawson, Co. Derry. . . . About 400 went, the majority of whom were children. . . It seems the 'Hibernians' of the district had been away to some demonstration, and returned by rail to Castledawson about 5.30 p.m. The procession, which they formed immediately outside the station, consisted of four 'drum and fife' bands, the great majority of whom were men. In fact, I did not see more than a dozen boys. In front of the procession was carried a large flag with the likeness of the Pope in the centre. About this time (*i.e.*, shortly after 5.10) the Sunday School proceeded to the station to catch their train home, which was to leave about 6 o'clock. Unfortunately, the two processions met; and as soon as the Hibernians came opposite the Union Jack flag, which was carried by one of the scholars, they made a rush for it, and tore it off the pole. This was but the commencement of one of the ugliest sights I have ever witnessed, for these men, some of whom were under the influence of drink, behaved more like wild beasts than men. A number of them carried spears, and used them freely. . . . Some of the men, who were fathers, were badly cut and bruised whilst saving their children; whilst not a few of the younger men had their faces cut and their clothes torn. . . . Besides this, the banners and flags were torn from the poles and trampled upon, and the poor helpless children scattered in all directions. . . . The attack on the Sunday School was made near the police station. This was fortunate for the children, because had it not been for

the good behaviour of the police and the help of some civilians, it seemed that some must have lost their lives. I may say that hitherto I have not given much serious thought to the question of 'Home Rule'; but who, with eyes to see, can fail to see what it will mean if it does come, when things like this happen in Protestant Ulster? I have been brought up a strict Nonconformist in South Wales, and that, of course, means to support the Liberal Party; but, after this, I shall not feel free to support them, at least, on the question of Home Rule for Ireland. . . . There is a vast difference between 'things as they are' in Ireland and things as they are represented in the English and Welsh Radical Press, and that is all I have been accustomed to read. This accounts for my ignorance; and I say, without fear of contradiction, that this is the way to account for thousands of Protestants in England and Wales supporting the Government who are trying to force Home Rule."

The leaders of the "Hibernian" party were subsequently prosecuted at the Ulster Assizes,[1] and some two dozen received sentences of imprisonment with hard labour.[2]

The above incident[3] is worth narrating in detail, because it is cases of this kind which explain the

[1] *Belfast News Letter*, December 21st and 23rd, 1912.

[2] Mr. Justice Wright in his summing up to the jury: "The worst feature of the whole case was that the Sunday School party was composed to a great extent of very young children—boys and girls—and women. The children ran terrorised in all directions. Some of them took refuge in the police barrack, and the women and children went screaming about the place."

[3] To this incident alone is attributable a great deal of the recent friction and violent quarrels between Protestant and Roman Catholic workmen in the Belfast shipyards.

Protestant feelings of detestation and disgust, and the dread of the people of Ulster at the prospect of being subordinated to a Nationalist Parliament, in which the Ancient Order of Hibernians would have a controlling voice. It is remarkable that the Nationalist Party in the House of Commons have tendered no expression of regret at the disgraceful occurrence.

Secondly, the people of Ulster are justly apprehensive that Home Rule would bring to an abrupt and bitter termination the prosperous condition which they have built up as the result of their industry and determination. Briefly stated, their reasons for this belief may be grouped under three heads. In the first place, they believe that the whole wealth and prosperity of Ireland are mainly due to the good government which they enjoy as part of the United Kingdom. This view is summarised in the following passages from the report of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce already referred to—

"In view of the country's present and growing prosperity, we have a right to ask what is the justification for the present proposal for so revolutionary a change? Ireland is manifestly unfitted for an experiment of such stupendous import as is involved in this Bill; nor is it rationally conceivable how the experiment could possibly succeed. The commercial and manufacturing districts, though so important, form but a relatively small portion of the country. Ireland possesses neither the natural resources, the capital, nor the unity of race or interest capable of enabling

it successfully to stand alone without the support of Imperial credit.

"With our firmly established position in the Empire we are perfectly satisfied. The trade and commerce of Ireland are hampered by no qualifications or conditions which do not equally affect every part of the United Kingdom. Indeed, it is beyond controversy that, under the rule of Imperial Parliament, the country as a whole has obtained benefits and advantages which could never have been secured under any Irish Government.

"Therefore, as patriotic Irishmen, we protest against a change more than ever uncalled for and, as we believe, fraught with disaster to our country—a change under which the peculiar industrial interests of this part of Ireland would be at the mercy of a permanent majority with antagonistic ideals and methods.

"In conclusion, as responsible citizens of the United Kingdom, we enter solemn and resolute protest against such unmerited degradation of our status as is assuredly involved in our being thrust out of that full community of interest and national life with Great Britain which we now enjoy."

Secondly, they know that the introduction of Home Rule would immediately cause a serious shock to security and credit in Ireland. Trade without credit is almost impossible, and they feel that the extensive trade relations of Ulster would be the first to suffer from the loss of confidence caused by the change.

Already the introduction of the present Bill and the Home Rule campaign have produced a marked effect on Irish credit. An index of the present sense

of insecurity is apparent in the depreciation of leading Irish Stocks from 15 to 20 per cent. Bank of Ireland Stock has fallen steadily since the Liberal Government assumed office in 1906, and during the last two years the depreciation has increased with appalling insistence. The highest and lowest prices of the Stock in 1911 were 304 and 269. In 1912, 280 and 245; while at the present time [1] the Stock stands at 235.

"Commercial confidence and business credit cannot co-exist with a distrusted public Exchequer. The transfer of public money collected in Ireland to meet the transferred services is admittedly barely sufficient for that purpose. Consequently the Irish Government will have no security to offer for its Consols; it will only be able to borrow (if at all) at disproportionately high rates of interest. The disastrous effect of such a state of things upon the commercial credit of Ireland is only too evident." [2]

Not the least of the causes which would produce this feeling of insecurity lies in the character of the Nationalist Party, whose entire history shows them to be devoid of the qualities which are essential to a sound and statesmanlike administration. The incidents related in the last chapter are alone sufficient to justify this regrettable conclusion; but, by way of further illustration, it is worth while to record an incident which occurred four years ago under the present Liberal administration in connection with the law relating to compensation for malicious injuries to property.

[1] *The Times*, February 6th, 1913.

[2] Belfast Chamber of Commerce. Reply to Mr. Asquith, August 7th, 1912.

Owing to the serious damage inflicted on individuals by the perpetrators of agrarian crime in Ireland, the law allows compensation recoverable in the county court and payable out of the county rates, for malicious injuries either to person or property. In England, compensation out of the rates is only allowed for malicious injuries caused in the course of a riot. The special provisions in force in Ireland are due to the impossibility of recovering compensation from the actual perpetrators of the damage. The perpetrators of agrarian crime have the sanction of a large section of the community, and they are able by means of organised intimidation to shield themselves behind a dead wall of silence. Cowed by the fear of the Leagues and Secret Societies, witnesses of the acts complained of have not the courage to come forward and give evidence. The statistics of the last few years from the Annual Volume of Irish Judicial Statistics (Civil) show that there is no abatement in the resort to malicious injury as a weapon of intimidation—

	Claims for Compensation.	Awards.[1]	Amount Awarded.
1906	710 ..	450 ..	£7,658
1907	714 ..	444 ..	13,040
1908	852 ..	514 ..	14,502
1909	1,028 ..	708 ..	14,468
1910	852 ..	568 ..	9,789
1911	1,456 ..	1,013 ..	18,065

The majority of cases of persons whose property is injured are small farmers or small occupiers of some house or plot in a village.

[1] The balance is made up of dismissals, cases pending, and cases settled otherwise.

The necessity for the continuance of the compensation statutes is demonstrated by the above figures of the number of cases in which awards have been made after careful judicial investigation in the county court. The ordinary processes of the law are powerless to bring the offenders to justice in face of the intimidation of witnesses and juries.

In 1909 the Nationalist Party introduced a Bill to repeal the statutes allowing compensation ; but even the present Government were alive to the importance of the safeguard, and opposed the proposed repeal.

The speech of Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, is worth quoting—

" We are opposing the proposed repeal because we think it only consistent with justice and right that this system of compensation for maiming or murdering police-officers or witnesses, and for malicious injury to property, no matter what the object may be, whether political or personal, should go on." [1]

The Bill was lost ; but, in the division, the Nationalist Party went into the Lobby in a body in favour of the repeal of the Compensation Acts.

This was only four years ago, and there is no indication of any change of views in that time. It is a fair assumption that the repeal by a Nationalist Parliament of the Acts giving compensation would follow as a matter of course.

It is obvious that this system of compensation, while giving some measure of relief to the individuals who are the subjects of attack, must also act as a deterrent ; for the general body of ratepayers are, in

[1] *Parl. Debates*, May 21st, 1909, col. 776.

consequence, more inclined to bring offenders to justice and, however much addicted to disorder, naturally object to the resulting increase in the rates. It may be said without question that a repeal of the statutes would result in an increase of this form of intimidation. Here, then, we have an example of the whole of the official Nationalist Party openly voting in favour of the repeal of a measure which is designed to increase the feeling of security in Ireland and compensate individuals for criminal attacks upon their property. Can it be wondered that the people of Ulster are convinced that security and confidence are incompatible with a Nationalist administration ?

So far, attention has been drawn only to the indirect effects of Home Rule upon the credit and prosperity of Ulster. But there are ample grounds for apprehending a direct attack by a Nationalist Parliament upon the wealthy industries of the North. Having regard to the antagonism which exists between the Protestants of the North and the Catholics of the South and West, it would not in any circumstances be surprising that a Nationalist majority should endeavour to fasten the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of their Northern rivals. Viewed in the light of the actual economic conditions in Ireland, the probability becomes a certainty.

Under the present Home Rule Bill, according to the financial estimate submitted by the Government,[1] the revenue at the disposal of the new Irish Government, without resorting to further taxation, is fixed at £500,000 per annum above the present cost of

[1] See Appendix.

Irish administration, and this margin of £500,000 will ultimately be reduced to £200,000. Now it has already been pointed out that Mr. Redmond admits the impossibility of economy for more than a generation ; and in view of the expense which must attend the establishment and maintenance of an elaborate Parliamentary system at Dublin, even in the most favourable circumstances there must be a tendency for the national expenditure to increase. But the circumstances are not favourable. In the first place, past experience of Irish conditions points to the dismal conclusion that the new Irish Government would be corrupt from its inception. Unfortunately, the fact that among certain classes of Irishmen jobbery and corruption are an essential part of public life is only too well known to need further comment here.[1]

It is matter of common knowledge that the Nationalist Party would be immediately confronted with an enormous demand for the creation of salaried jobs to satisfy their supporters.[2]

[1] The Most Rev. Dr. O'Dea, Roman Catholic Bishop of Galway, in a sermon on the eve of the municipal elections in 1911 : " All the world over it is said that Ireland is wanting in civic virtues—it will be a sad thing if Ireland does not set an example of what her people can do in the way of selecting honest true-minded public men who can manage her affairs faithfully."

[2] This is the chief reason for the proposed transfer of the Post Office under the Home Rule Bill to the Irish Government contrary to the practice in all Federal systems.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., Leader of the Independent Nationalist Party, speaking at Cork on Saturday, March 1st, 1913 : " Finally they all knew that the most substantial dread of the Protestant minority was that they and their children would be ousted from every office of emolument in their country, and that the new Parliament would be the scene of a squalid scramble for jobs among victorious politicians belonging to one particular sectarian society 130,000 strong."—*The Times*, March 3rd, 1913.

From these causes alone, a considerable increase in Irish expenditure is imminent. But, admittedly, reforms involving the expenditure of large sums annually are urgently needed in various directions, notably in the case of education ; and, in addition, Mr. Redmond has indicated in a general way further spheres of activity which, in his opinion, await the attention of an Irish Parliament, and, without any attempt at detail, has prophesied a comprehensive scheme of reforms. But all these things cost money, and the ultimate result must be a large increase in Irish expenditure—both permanent and annual. In addition to this, the diminishing trade which must follow upon the shock to credit and security caused by the change to Home Rule spells diminished revenue from ordinary sources of taxation. The revenues of the United Kingdom will no longer be available to make up any loss in the Irish balance sheet.[1]

The Nationalist majority in the Dublin Parliament would be almost entirely representative of agricultural interests alone. The few and relatively insignificant manufactures of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork in no way affect the general proposition that the Nationalist Party derives its strength from, and is dependent on, the agricultural part of the population.

Now, the farmers declare and are encouraged by the agitators in the belief that they are already over-taxed, and would undoubtedly resist fresh impositions.

[1] See Chapter VIII. Under the Bill the grant from the British Exchequer, known as the transferred sum, will be fixed at the time of the passing of the Act.

Indeed, under Home Rule they have been encouraged to expect a millennium; and any attempt by a Nationalist Government to raise revenue by further taxing the agricultural districts would raise such violent opposition on the part of their supporters as would split the party from top to bottom.

The conclusion stands out ruthless and irresistible that the whole brunt of the deficit must be borne by the industrial community of Ulster, who, being in a minority in the Irish Parliament, would be made to pay for the luxury of an experiment in Government to which they are bitterly opposed.

The policy of super-taxing the industries of Ulster is admittedly short-sighted and would ultimately tend to the impoverishment of the rest of Ireland. The chief economic necessity of the country lies in the development of manufactures and commerce and the extension of industrial development to other parts of Ireland would receive an immediate check. But as the destructive programme of the Nationalists in the past has done more than anything else to retard the development of Ireland, there is no reason to suppose that a strict regard for economic principles would deter them from laying violent hands on the accumulated wealth of the North—a patent source of immediate revenue.

In the words of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce—

"The general effect of the present measure, as of the Bill of 1893, would be that, through the power of taxation, the manufactures and commerce of Ireland will necessarily stand at the mercy of a majority who have little direct concern in the commercial interests

so vitally affected, and who are without adequate experience of the science of government."

Finally, the people of Ulster bitterly resent the attempt to deprive them of their position as citizens of the United Kingdom. For more than one hundred years they and their fathers have lived under the protection of the Imperial Parliament, and they regard as their inalienable birthright their position of equality with the inhabitants of Great Britain. They are satisfied with the present form of Government, and refuse to be handed over to the control of an Executive which they have every reason to mistrust. They yield to no man in their loyalty to the King and to the Empire, and they decline to submit to the dictation of a Parliament composed of men who take as their motto: "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity."

The people of Ulster ask for no ascendancy. They possess no ascendancy, but they will submit to no ascendancy. They do not ask for any special privilege or any special advantage which is not equally enjoyed by every other part of the United Kingdom. They ask only to be left as they are. They refuse to exchange their position of liberty and equality under the Imperial Parliament for that of a degraded fragment of a tributary kingdom.

Nor can we expect them to forget the threats of their opponents at a time when they were not engaged in paying lip-service to loyalty and toleration.

The memory of such sentiments as the following is not easily effaced—

"When we come out of the struggle, we will remember who were the people's friends and who were the people's enemies, and deal out our reward to one and our punishment to the other." [1]

The quotation is an old one, but it is not without a modern parallel. Mr. Devlin has recently boasted of the Ancient Order of Hibernians as "a terror to its enemies all over Ireland." [2]

In the words of Mr. Bonar Law—

"The people of Ulster have burned into their memory not only what the Nationalists have said, but what they have done. It is not their words only, but their deeds; and when you ask Ulster to submit to such a rule—to trust them—the Ulster people can only trust them on one condition, that they refuse to believe anything these people have ever said, that they forget everything these people have ever done."

The opposition of Ulster to Home Rule is of an entirely different nature to that ordinary opposition to controversial legislation which is a familiar feature of Parliamentary Government.

It is a commonplace of British politics that legislative proposals, however strongly they may be opposed in Parliament, when once passed into law,

[1] Mr. Dillon, M.P., December 5th, 1886, at Kilmovee.
In the handbook of the "Catholic Association," published September, 1903 appeared the following: "Nobody should be so unreasonable as to expect the executive of the Association to reveal in full the methods by which they hope to redress their grievances, or to chastise the bigotry of their opponents."

[2] At Limerick, September 16th, 1912, reported in *Freeman's Journal* of September 17th. Mr. Devlin is President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and one of the leaders of the Nationalist Party in the House of Commons, in company with Messrs. Redmond and Dillon.

are acquiesced in as the considered judgment of the nation, and when the party in opposition assumes office it is unusual to attempt to reverse the legislation of their predecessors.

In the light of current events, it is hardly necessary to explain that in the case of Ulster no such acquiescence is possible. Their opposition to Home Rule arises from no partisan spirit.

If the menace of Home Rule were permanently removed, there is no doubt that the usual party divisions—Conservative, Liberal, and Labour—would reappear in Ulster, and it is probable that the Liberal element would predominate ; but at the present time minor political differences sink into insignificance before the common fear of Home Rule.

The attitude of Ulster has been aptly compared to that of the British Colonists in North America, which resulted in the War of Independence. It is the unalterable determination of a free people to resist the attempt to deprive them of their rights.

It is, indeed, impossible to convey to those who have not lived among the people of Ulster an idea of the extent and depth of the feeling which exists in the North-East of Ireland contrasted with the comparative apathy which exists in those parts of Ireland which are said to be in favour of Home Rule.

The same feeling was exhibited in Ulster at the time of the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893. The lapse of twenty years has only served to deepen conviction and increase resentment.

The following account of the events of the last two years may provide some impression, though at the

best faint and inadequate, of the deep-rooted sentiments which animate the inhabitants of the most prosperous part of Ireland.

The Ulstermen have taken as their motto the famous declaration of Gustavus Hamilton—the Commander of the Protestant forces at Enniskillen in 1689—" We stand upon our guard ; but do resolve, by the blessing of God, rather to go out to meet our danger than to await it."

So soon as the Parliament Act was passed in August, 1911, and it was evident that a Home Rule Bill would be introduced in the next Session of Parliament, it became necessary for Unionist Ulster to prepare an organised campaign of opposition to the measure. Sir Edward Carson was unanimously chosen as the leader of the Unionist Party in Ireland ; and the first great meeting was held at Craigavon, near Belfast, on September 23rd, 1911, when 50,000 men marched past the newly-appointed leader and tens of thousands lined the route of the procession from Belfast to the place of meeting.

It was on this occasion that Sir Edward Carson embodied the attitude of Ulster in the declaration : " Under no circumstances will we accept Home Rule or acknowledge any Executive Government which is not responsible to the Imperial Parliament." Two days later, on September 25th, a resolution was passed by the assembled delegates of the Unionist Associations ratifying the proposal that in the event of the Home Rule Bill being forced into law a Provisional Government should be set up in Ulster.

The following is the text of the resolution—

" That we delegates of the Ulster Unionist Associations, the Unionist Clubs of Ireland, and the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland, in united meeting assembled, recognising that the public peace of this country is in great and imminent danger by reason of the threat to establish a Parliament in Dublin, and knowing that such a step will eventually lead to disaster to the Empire and absolute ruin to Ireland, the degradation of our citizenship in the United Kingdom and the destruction of our material property, and our civil and religious liberties ;

" Hereby call upon our leaders to take any steps they may consider necessary to resist the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, solemnly pledging themselves that under no conditions shall we acknowledge any such Government or obey its decrees ; and

" We further assure our leaders that those whom we represent will stand by them loyally in any action they may take, and give their unwavering support in any danger they may be called upon to face.

" That inasmuch as His Majesty's Government has intimated its intention to pass a measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and as we have again and again expressed our determination not to submit to Home Rule, the time has now come when we consider it our imperative duty to make arrangements for the Provisional Government of Ulster.

" It is resolved that we hereby appoint a commission whose duties shall be—

" (1) To keep Sir Edward Carson in constant and close touch with the feeling of Unionist Ulster as represented by its various Loyalist organisations ;

"(2) And in the case of emergency, with his approval, to take immediate action;

"(3) To take immediate steps, in consultation with Sir Edward Carson, to frame and submit a Constitution for a Provisional Government for Ulster, having due regard to the interests of the Loyalists in other parts of Ireland: the powers and duration of such Provisional Government to come into operation on the day of the passage of any Home Rule Bill, to remain in force until Ulster shall again resume unimpaired her citizenship in the United Kingdom and her high position in the great British Empire."

Other demonstrations followed, in January, at Omagh, Ballymena, and Coleraine. The Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches recorded their protest at a series of meetings in February and March; and on Easter Tuesday a second enormous demonstration was held at Balmoral, near Belfast, in which over a quarter of a million took part. Mr. Bonar Law—the leader of the Opposition—Sir Edward Carson, and over seventy Members of Parliament were present.

The proceedings were opened by a short religious service, conducted by the Lord Primate of Ireland and the Moderator-Elect of the General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches. Over 100,000 men marched past Mr. Bonar Law at the saluting-point.

Upon a concerted signal at each of the platforms, the whole of the great assembly repeated the famous declaration of the Ulster Convention of 1892: "We will not have Home Rule."

During the summer of 1912, attention was focussed on the Debates on the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons; and, in the meantime, the people of Ulster were quietly preparing for organised resistances in the event of the Bill becoming law.

In the autumn, a great campaign was organised throughout the province. Mass meetings were addressed by Sir Edward Carson at Enniskillen, Lisburn, Londonderry, Coleraine, and Portadown, and by other speakers at other centres. The proceedings culminated in a demonstration at the Ulster Hall on September 27th, prior to the signing of the Covenant on the following day.

The terms of the Covenant had already been ratified at a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council on September 23rd, when the following resolution was passed unanimously—

"Inasmuch as we, the duly elected delegates and members of the Ulster Unionist Council representing all parts of Ulster, are firmly persuaded that by no law can the right to govern those whom we represent be bartered away without their consent; that, although the present Government—the services and sacrifices of generations of our race having been forgotten—may drive us forth from a Constitution which we have ever loyally upheld, they may not deliver us bound into the hands of our enemies; and that it is incompetent for any authority, party, or people to appoint as our rulers a Government dominated by men disloyal to the Empire, and to whom our faith and traditions are hateful: and, inasmuch as we reverently believe that, as in times past, it was given our

fathers to save themselves from a like calamity, so now it may be ordered that our deliverance shall be by our own hands: to which end it is needful that we be knit together as one man, each strengthening the other, and none holding back or counting the cost:

"Therefore, we, Loyalists of Ulster, ratify and confirm the steps so far taken by the Special Commission this day submitted and explained to us, and we reappoint the Commission to carry on its work on our behalf as in the past. We enter into the Solemn Covenant appended hereto; and, knowing the greatness of the issues depending on our faithfulness, we promise each to the others that, to the uttermost of the strength and means given us, and not regarding any selfish or private interest, our substance, or our lives, we will make good the said Solemn Covenant. And we now bind ourselves in the steadfast determination that, whatever may befall, no such domination shall be thrust upon us, and in the hope that, by the blessing of God, our Union with Great Britain, upon which are fixed our affections and trust, may yet be maintained, and that for ourselves and for our children, for this province, and for the whole of Ireland, peace, prosperity, and civil and religious liberty may be secured under the Parliament of the United Kingdom and of the King, whose faithful subjects we are and will continue all our days."

On Ulster Day—September 28th, 1912—the people of Ulster entered into a Solemn League and Covenant in the following terms—

"Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of

Ulster, as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant, throughout this our time of threatened calamity, to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority.

" In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names. And, further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant."

The first signature to the Covenant was written by Sir Edward Carson in the Ulster Hall, on the stroke of noon, on Ulster Day; and throughout the remainder of that day and for several days after, the men of Ulster flocked to the hall to add their signatures.

A declaration was signed by the women in the following terms—

" We, whose names are underwritten, women of Ulster and loyal subjects of our Gracious King, being firmly persuaded that Home Rule would be disastrous to our country, desire to associate ourselves with the

Ulster's
Solemn League and Covenant.

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V., humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. ¶ And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority. ¶ In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names. ¶ And further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant.

The above was signed by me at Belfast
"Ulster Day," Saturday, 28th September, 1912.

Edward Carson

God Save the King.

Facsimile of the parchment copy of the Solemn League and Covenant which was given to each of the signatories of that document in token of his pledge. In this instance the signature is that of Sir Edward Carson.

men of Ulster in their uncompromising opposition to the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament, whereby it is proposed to drive Ulster out of her cherished place in the Constitution of the United Kingdom, and to place her under the domination and control of a Parliament in Ireland. Praying that from this calamity God will save Ireland, we hereto subscribe our names."

The total number of signatures to the two documents was 471,414, made up as follows—

	Men.	Women.
Number of signatures in Ulster	218,206	228,999
Number of signatures in other places, including Dublin and the rest of Ireland, English and Scottish Agencies, and individual signatures received at Headquarters	19,162	5,047
Total	237,368	234,046

These simple facts—the grave and solemn language of the documents, the number of earnest, law-abiding citizens who signed their names to them—are more eloquent testimony of the determination of Ulster to resist Home Rule than it would be possible to convey by the most graphic description of the proceedings.

It is a common taunt that the leaders of the Unionist Party in Ireland have attempted by violent language to rouse the people of Ulster to resist Home Rule; that they have descended to the tricks of the mob orator and the paid agitator. Those who know the feelings of the Ulstermen will recognise the absurdity of the suggestion. The first ten signatures to the Covenant should be enough to disprove it, for among

them are those of the Dean of Belfast, the Moderator of the General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches, the General Secretary of the same body, and the Vice-President of the Methodist Conference.

A clever tongue can inspire indignation in a mob, but no man by mere words can deceive a whole nation into the imagination of threatened injustice. The leaders of Ulster opinion have but given expression to the feelings of an outraged people.

Such, then, is the position in Ulster. The next move is with the Government. The House of Lords have rejected the Home Rule Bill, and there is no doubt that they will do so again if it is presented to them a second time.

If, in the face of the grave warnings which have been given, the Government bring in the Bill a third time—in 1914—and persist in passing it into law without the consent of the House of Lords under the operation of the Parliament Act,[1] Ulster will decline to accept the new Constitution and the Provisional Government will be set up. If, in the last resort, the British Government have recourse to force to compel the submission of Ulster, civil war in Ireland is inevitable.

The situation is not a pleasant one for any Government to face.

If the circumstances in 1893 are any criterion, it is doubtful whether even the British Army could be relied on. In 1893, Lord Wolseley—Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Ireland—wrote to the Duke of

[1] See Introduction. If the same Bill is passed in the House of Commons in three successive sessions extending over a period of not less than two years, it becomes law without the consent of the House of Lords.

Cambridge—the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army—

"Of this, Sir, I beg of your Royal Highness to be quite assured, and that is that Ulster is determined to resist, and will fight *à outrance* if at any future time she be cut off from England and placed at the mercy of a race which her people hate as much as they despise it. . . . The general belief in the North is that our troops, if ordered to fire on men who will meet them with shouts of 'God Save the Queen,' will fire over them. However, what I wish you, Sir, to realize is that the Ulstermen mean to fight. . . . Politicians have a pleasing way of believing only just what suits their own party exigencies; and I find that those who have now allied themselves with what Mr. Bright used to call the 'rebel party' pretend to laugh if one mentions the determination of the Northern loyalists to fight. . . . If ever our troops are brought into collision with the loyalists of Ulster and blood is shed, it will shake the whole foundations upon which our Army rests to such an extent that I feel that our Army will never be the same again. Many officers will resign to join Ulster; and there will be such a host of retired officers in the Ulster ranks, that men who would stand by the Government, no matter what it did, will be worse than half-hearted in all they do. No Army could stand such a strain upon it." [1]

If the Home Rule Bill becomes law, will the Government resort to the extreme course of ordering British soldiers to fire on their fellow-citizens in Ulster?

[1] *Military Life of H.R.H. George Duke of Cambridge*, by Col. Verner, vol. ii, p. 379.

Is it too much to hope that saner councils will prevail: that His Majesty's Minister will heed the solemn warning given by Sir Edward Carson on a famous occasion in the House of Commons?—

"In conclusion, Sir, having regard to the object which I have in view in moving this amendment, which is to put before the House the views which my colleagues and myself entertain as regards the position that is created in Ireland, I would just like to read one passage from a great historical document which was, I believe, drawn up mainly by Ulster Scots. It is this—

> 'Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by the legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow those usurpations which would invincibly interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity.'

"The rest of the quotation I shall not read, for there is time yet left in this case to avert disaster." [1]

[1] From the peroration to Sir Edward Carson's speech in support of the Opposition amendment, proposing to exclude Ulster from the operation of the Home Rule Bill (*House of Commons Debates*, January 1st, 1913, col. 391). The quotation is from the *American Declaration of Independence*. The remainder of the passage reads: "We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends."

CHAPTER V

THE FEDERAL ANALOGY

THE practical aspect of the Home Rule question has been overlaid with academic discussions on the relative value of federal and unitary systems of Government.

The federal theory has but little application to the actual circumstances of Ireland ; but since the inferences drawn are repeatedly put forward as conclusive arguments for the grant of Home Rule to Ireland, it is worth while to examine the value and relevance of the analogy.

Much confusion has been caused by attempts to compare the case of Ireland with the various systems of Government prevailing in the British Colonies. The confusion arises from two causes. In the first place, before you can set up a comparison, you must know what it is you are comparing.

The failure to define which of the varying forms of Parliamentary Government that exist in the Colonies ought to be extended to Ireland is responsible for a good deal of the muddy argument that obscures this aspect of the question.

The following is a typical example of the method of reasoning : " All that Ireland asks for is what has already been given to twenty-eight different portions of the Empire " [1]—the argument being that, because throughout the British Empire there are to be found

[1] Mr. Redmond, Whitechapel, October 10th, 1911.

twenty-eight different systems of separate representative Government differing widely in the extent of their powers and the importance of their spheres of activity, therefore a separate Parliamentary system should be set up in Ireland, itself differing in every material respect from any form of Colonial Government. The argument is disingenuous, because, in order to make true the assertion it is necessary to include in the twenty-eight portions of the Empire not only the *central* Parliaments of the great self-governing Dominions: Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand—which are for all practical purposes independent nations—but also the subordinate *provincial legislatures* of Canada and Australia, the provincial councils of South Africa possessing but little legislative authority and even archaic survivals such as the assemblies of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, the proceedings of which are of no more importance in the Councils of the Empire than the deliberations of a provincial town council.

The same misleading proposition has been presented by Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, whose reputation for logical argument and clearness of expression renders the solecism the more amazing.

Another variant of the argument is that since responsible representative government[1] through local

[1] By representative government, of course, is meant government by a Parliament composed of elected representatives of the various districts composing the territory under consideration, as contrasted with a legislative assembly composed of members nominated by the Crown or the Governor-General. By responsible government is meant that the ministry is responsible to the majority in the popularly elected assembly and must resign office on failing to command the support of that majority.

Parliaments has been conferred upon the great self-governing Colonies, therefore a similar privilege should be extended to Ireland. Here again the fallacy is transparent. The real issue is obscured by the failure to advert to the fact that Ireland enjoys responsible government to the fullest extent through her representatives in the House of Commons and the Irish Peers in the House of Lords. Ireland in fact forms part of a unitary system in the same way that South New Zealand enjoys responsible government through its members in the Dominion Parliament of New Zealand.[1]

In fact, so far as concerns responsible government in the United Kingdom, the Irish Members at the moment hold the balance; and the British public would be better pleased if the Cabinet were less ready to acknowledge their responsibility to the Irish Nationalist majority in the House of Common.

The Colonies of the British Empire contain many types of self-government, including, for example, the fully responsible government of the Dominion of Canada; the representative but not responsible government of Barbadoes—the Ministry in Barbadoes do not retire if unable to command a majority in the House of Representatives—and the government of the Straits Settlement, which is neither responsible nor representative—consisting merely of a Governor and Legislative Council, the members of which are nominated by the Governor.

[1] The islands of North New Zealand and South New Zealand, which comprise the Dominion of New Zealand, have no separate provincial legislatures. The system is purely unitary under the Dominion Parliament.

The history of the British Colonies shows that the tendency is, in every case, as the Colony grows in population, wealth, and importance, to advance from government by a nominated Council to representative but not responsible government, finally arriving at complete self-government—both representative and responsible.

Now the position of Ireland, as already pointed out, is that she has the full benefits of responsible government under the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to which she sends 103 Members. Indeed she enjoys wider privileges than even the great Dominions of Canada, Australia, and South Africa, since in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the Irish Members assist in the control of Imperial affairs in every corner of the globe ; while the jurisdiction of Canada, for instance, is limited to the regulation of Canadian affairs.

Further, it is remarkable that the transition from representative to responsible government, which is the natural course of evolution in Colonial constitutions, took place in Ireland at the time of the Union.

Neither in the independent Grattan's Parliament from 1782 to 1800, nor in the strictly subordinate Parliaments which preceded it, were the Irish Ministers responsible to the majority in the Irish House of Commons. The Ministers forming the Irish Executive were nominated by the Crown, and continued to hold office irrespective of the state of parties in the Irish Parliament. In 1800 by the passing of the Act of Union Ireland, by sending her Members to the Parliament of the United Kingdom acquired a share in the

system of responsible government, which she now enjoys as part of the United Kingdom.

In other words in the case of Ireland unification and the acquisition of responsible government took place at the same moment. As will be shown later the tendency in the Colonies is for responsible government to precede unification. In the more important Colonies responsible government has for a long time been an accomplished fact, while the gradual process of unification is still in progress. In the case of South Africa unification took place almost immediately the last unit—the Transvaal—had received responsible government; and it is remarkable that Mr. Asquith is eager to take credit for the unification of South Africa in almost the same breath that he proclaims his intention to bring about the disintegration of the United Kingdom.

The difference between the position of Ireland and the self-governing Colonies is therefore not that Ireland does not enjoy responsible government, but that the Colonies have each a separate Parliament, while the Irish Members form part of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Accordingly, the only propositions by way of comparison with Colonial systems of Government which are not on the face of them fallacious are the following—

(1) Does the fact that the Dominions are governed by Parliaments of their own, instead of sending their representatives to London, justify the establishment of an Irish Parliament?

(2) How far does the fact that the provinces of certain of the self-governing Dominions have each

their own strictly subordinate legislatures—in addition to the central Dominion Parliament—justify the establishment of an Irish Parliament on the lines of the present Home Rule Bill?

In regard to the first proposition, it has been admitted that the Liberal Party would never accept for one moment the proposal to set up in Ireland a practically autonomous Parliament having complete control of Irish affairs, to the exclusion of any practical supremacy by the British Parliament.

We are told that there is no intention of setting up in Ireland anything but a purely subordinate Parliament subject to the actual and not merely theoretical control of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster; and, indeed, the effective supremacy of the British Parliament has been persistently urged by Ministers in charge of the Bill as the real safeguard against abuse of authority by the Parliament and Executive at Dublin.

But any form of government which falls short of practical autonomy and freedom from outside interference, such as is enjoyed in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, destroys the analogy. When we come to examine the provisions of the present Home Rule Bill, it will be seen that not only would the Irish Parliament be a subordinate Parliament, but it would be subject to interference at every turn, owing to the many departments of Irish Government which will still be retained by the British Parliament.

It would therefore seem that any comparison between the autonomous Parliaments in the Colonial Dominions and the subordinate and restricted powers of the proposed Irish Parliament is a comparison of

things different in their nature ; and the existence of the former cannot properly be urged as a justification for the latter.

Moreover, an examination of the circumstances which existed at the time of the establishment of the various Colonial Parliaments shows clearly that the growth of separate institutions in the Colonies was inevitable owing to the vast distances which separated them from the Mother Country—distances the importance of which in point of time has now been greatly decreased by modern means of communication. The remoteness of the Colonies not only made it impossible for them to send representatives to London, but the same cause prevented the statesmen of this country from becoming familiar with the diverse economic conditions overseas.[1]

In other words, local Parliaments were not merely the best form of Government—they were the only form of Government. It need hardly be said that these conditions do not apply to Ireland. Dublin is nine hours' journey from London.

The comparison of the Home Rule Bill with the forms of Government said to have been " conferred " [2] upon the Colonies is, therefore, essentially misleading, since it implies that the causes which operated to produce separate local Parliaments in the Colonies exist in the case of Ireland to-day.

[1] It is an arguable proposition that had it been possible for the citizens of British North America to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament in the reign of George III, there would have been no American War of Independence.

[2] As pointed out above, the development of Colonial institutions has been a matter of gradual growth, and not the spontaneous gift of responsible government by the Imperial Parliament.

Finally, the existence of the provincial or State legislatures of Canada and Australia under the central or federal legislatures of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia are urged as a reason for setting up a subordinate Parliament in Ireland. Viewed as an argument in favour of the establishment of a quasi-federal system in the British Isles, the subordinate legislatures of the Dominions may logically be cited; but whatever may be the merits of such a proposal, it has no relation to the present scheme of Home Rule.

It is true that there have been vague allusions by Members of the Liberal Party to the ultimate establishment of a federal system throughout the United Kingdom, commonly referred to as "Home Rule All Round." No details have been given; but, presumably, the phrase "Home Rule All Round" is meant to indicate the establishment of separate Parliaments for England, Scotland, and even Wales—as well as Ireland—together with a federal Parliament at London representing the four countries.

No concrete proposition has been put forward even in general terms. There has been no indication that such a scheme is to be introduced either in the near or distant future, or that any responsible statesman has even troubled to work out the bare framework of the new Constitution. One may, therefore, be pardoned for assuming that the phrase "Home Rule All Round" has been invented as an opiate to soothe the consciences of those Liberals who are inclined to look askance at the separatist principle involved in the establishment of an Irish Parliament.

In any case, no serious advocate of a sound federal system would start by giving to one of the proposed federal units—Ireland—a lop-sided constitution containing features which are incompatible with federal principles. In the first place, the very term "federation" conveys the idea of the coming together, under a loose form of Union, of a number of independent States; in other words, federation is commonly understood as a system in which a number of units, formerly separate and independent, are united by a "fœdus" or treaty of Union. To apply the term to a proposal to split up and decentralize the Government of a number of units at present under a common Government is an abuse of language. On examining any of the existing federal systems, it will be found that, without exception, they have been built up by the combination of separate units, for example: the United States of America, the German Empire, the Dominion of Canada, and the Commonwealth of Australia.

This question has no real connection with the Home Rule proposals; but, in any case, there are grave objections to the establishment of separate legislatures in the different parts of the United Kingdom —England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.[1]

The circumstances are entirely different from those existing in the Dominions. There is neither the diversity of local conditions nor the distance between the various parts which caused the retention of the

[1] Mr. Winston Churchill suggests an even minuter subdivision. He proposes separate Parliaments for Lancashire, Yorkshire, and so forth, to the number of ten or twelve, but no one is disposed to take his suggestions seriously.

provincial and State legislatures in Canada and Australia respectively. Moreover, the federalisation of the United Kingdom would be centrifugal; while the tendency in the Colonies is essentially centripetal.

On the other hand, there is much to be said for the policy of relieving the Imperial Parliament of the congestion of local business by delegating wide *administrative* powers to local bodies—elected by popular vote—subject always to the absolute right of Parliament to control them and at any time to withdraw or modify the powers entrusted to them.[1] This, however, has no connection with the Home Rule question. The fate of the Irish Councils Bill (1907) has proved that no such scheme would satisfy the aspirations of the Nationalist agitators.

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that "Home Rule All Round," or the conversion of the United Kingdom into a quasi-federal State by a process of decentralisation, would be a desirable object, it is apparent that it could only be done by simultaneously setting up the local legislatures in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, each with co-ordinate authority in their respective spheres, with a central federal Parliament in London. In other words, it is ludicrous to attempt to set up a federation by a haphazard piece-work system, or to construct one of the parts without attempting to determine at least the framework of the whole.

The anti-federal character of the Home Rule Bill is

[1] Experiments in this direction have proved successful, *e.g.*, the Irish Council of Agriculture under the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act, 1899.

demonstrated by two of its features which the Government, by the desire of the Nationalist Party, have obstinately refused to alter. In every existing federation there is a Customs union and a Postal union.

Neither of these conditions have been observed in the Home Rule Bill, nor is it suggested that the Irish constitution is to undergo revision in two of its most important features at some indefinite date when local legislatures are set up in England, Scotland, and Wales. As a matter of fact, the Nationalist Party have insisted on the erection of a Customs barrier and the control of the Post Office ; and they appear to attach so much importance to these matters that it is impossible to believe that they would lightly relinquish these two characteristics of an " independent nation."

On the other hand, if Ireland, under the proposed Irish Parliament, is seriously to be put forward as an example of a federal State, the British Parliament will occupy the anomalous position of being at the same time the central federal authority in its relation to Ireland, and of being the local legislature for England, Scotland, and Wales.

In the former case, there being 567 Members from England, Scotland, and Wales, Ireland as a federal unit would be insufficiently represented. In the latter case, it is impossible to justify the retention of the forty-two Irish Members who, according to the present Bill, are to remain at Westminster. In fact, the further we attempt to apply the federal theory, the more absurd and incongruous the patchwork scheme appears.

While it is futile to compare the position of Ireland in relation to England with that of the self-governing Dominions, or to suggest that Ireland under the Home Rule Bill would occupy the position of a federal State analogous to the subordinate provincial legislatures of Canada, the various types of Colonial government have a distinct bearing on the Home Rule problem, having regard to the causes which produced the diversity of type in each case.

In order to set at rest once and for all the confusion of ideas which is produced by a general reference to the federal character of the constitutions of the self-governing Dominions, it is desirable to refer briefly to the main characteristics of the form of government in Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand.

The Government of the Commonwealth of Australia is a loose form of federation. That is to say, the individual States enjoy a position of considerable independence and freedom from interference by the federal or Commonwealth Parliament.

The powers of the Commonwealth Parliament are strictly limited to certain spheres of government.[1] The residuum of power is left to the State legislatures, which enjoy complete freedom of action outside the strictly limited functions of the Commonwealth Parliament. They have concurrent powers of legislation in regard to those matters which are within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Parliament ; but, in

[1] Under the Commonwealth Act, the Commonwealth Parliament has power to legislate on thirty-nine classes of subjects specifically set out in the Act.

case of conflict of laws, the Commonwealth laws prevail.

The Government of the Dominion of Canada, on the other hand, is a close federation. The provincial legislatures of Canada have certain matters exclusively assigned to them upon which they have power to legislate. The Dominion Parliament, on the other hand, has power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada on *all* matters not exclusively assigned to the provincial legislatures—that is to say, the residuum of power is in the hands of the Dominion Parliament, which consequently exercises far greater control and has a much wider sphere of activity than the Commonwealth Parliament in Australia.

Next, the Union of South Africa is not a federation at all, but a unitary system with the Dominion Parliament at Cape Town, and an administrator and a provincial council in each of the provinces. In the words of the South Africa Act, 1909, the then separate and independent Colonies were "united in a legislative Union under one Government under the name of the Union of South Africa." The provincial councils as their name implies are not legislatures. They have power to make "ordinances" on a strictly limited class of local matters and these are valid only so far as they are not repugnant to any Act of the Union Parliament. In fact they approximate to the position of the bye-laws of a county council in England.

Finally, in New Zealand the constitution is as strictly unitary as that under which we at present live in the United Kingdom. The two islands

separated by a narrow strip of water—just as Ireland is separated from England by the St. George's Channel—are subject to the common Government of the Parliament of the Dominion of New Zealand.

If we examine the reasons which have produced these four different types of Government—from the loosest form of federalism to the closest form of unitary government—it is apparent that the particular form of government is in each case due to economic and geographical conditions; that there has been in each case a tendency to centralize; and that the development towards unification has been assisted or retarded in a direct ratio to the capacity of the inhabitants to overcome economic and geographical obstacles, making due allowance for the influence of racial differences and general historical conditions.

In illustration of this I cannot do better than quote a passage from a masterly essay by Mr. L. S. Amery, M.P.,[1] on the subject—

"Each of these types is the outcome of peculiar geographical, economic, and historical conditions. To understand the federal system of Australia it is essential to remember that till comparatively recent times Australia consisted, to all intents, of four or five seaport towns, each with its own tributary agricultural and mining area, strung out at distances varying from 500 to 1,300 miles along the southern and eastern third of a coast line of nearly 9,000 miles, looped round an unexplored and reputedly uninhabitable interior. Each of these seaports traded directly

[1] Among the collection of essays in *Against Home Rule* (1912).

with the United Kingdom and Europe in competition with the others. With economic motives for union practically non-existent, with external factors awakening a general apprehension rather than confronting Australia with any immediate danger, it was impossible to find the driving power to overcome local jealousies sufficient to secure more than a minimum of Union. The Commonwealth Constitution is a makeshift which, as the internal trade of Australia grows and as railway communications are developed, will inevitably be amended in the direction of increasing the power of the Commonwealth and diminishing that of the States. In Canada, the economic link between Canada proper and the Maritime Provinces was, before confederation, almost as weak as that of Australia. British Columbia, which it was hoped to include in the confederation, was then separated by a journey of months from Eastern Canada, and was, indeed, much nearer to Australia or New Zealand. Quebec, with its racial and religious peculiarities, added another problem. That the Confederation was nevertheless such a close and strong one was due both to the menace of American power in the South and to the terrible example of the weakness of the American constitution, as made manifest by the Civil War. Yet even so, Sir John Macdonald, the father of Confederation, frankly declared the federal constitution a necessary evil—

"'As regards the comparative advantages of a legislative and a federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. . . I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government

and one Parliament . . . it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, the strongest system of government we could adopt.'

" This also was the view of the framers of the South African Union. The circumstances of South Africa enabled them to carry it into effect. For all its extent South Africa is geographically a single homogeneous country, with no marked internal boundaries. It is peopled by two white races, everywhere intermixed in varying proportions and nowhere separated into large compact blocks. The immense preponderance and central position of the Rand mining industry makes South Africa practically a single economic system. The very bitterness of the long political and racial struggle which had preceded intensified the argument for really effective union.

" If we compare the conditions in the United Kingdom with those of the Dominions, it is obvious at once that there is no possible analogy with the conditions of Canada or Australia, but a considerable analogy with South Africa and New Zealand. The British Isles are but little larger than the New Zealand group, and much more compact and homogeneous. Their close economic intercourse, the presence of two races with a history of strife behind them, but compelled by their inextricable geographical blending to confront the necessity of union, are reproduced in the conditions of South Africa."

In conclusion, the history of the past fifty years, and particularly of the present century, has witnessed the strengthening of economic ties between the

separate provinces of the great overseas Dominions and between the Dominions themselves and the Mother Country. Is Ireland to be the one unit to stand in the way of the economic consolidation of the Empire? It cannot be too strongly emphasised that by reverting to a subordinate Parliament at Dublin we should be resuming the conditions responsible for the evils which were at the root of Ireland's retrograde condition at the time of the Union—and were maintained for many years after the Union owing to a combination of natural disasters, economic blunders of British statesmen, and the misguided agitation of fanatical separatists.

The day of Ireland's regeneration has arrived. It is for us to see that Ireland is not thrust back to the position of jealousy, suspicion, and unequal competition which enchained her in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER VI

NAVAL AND MILITARY PROBLEMS

One of the greatest—if not the greatest—living expert in naval strategy has written—

"It is impossible for a military man or a statesman with appreciation of military conditions to look at the map and not perceive that the ambition of the Irish Separatists realised would be even more threatening to the national life than the secession of the South was to that of the American Union. It would be deadlier also to Imperial aspirations; for Ireland, by geographical position, lies across and controls the communications of Great Britain with all the outside world—save only that considerable, but far from preponderant, portion which borders the North Sea and the Baltic. Independent and hostile it would manacle Great Britain, which at present is, and for years to come must remain by long odds the most powerful member of the federation, if that take form. The Irish question, therefore, is vitally important, not to Great Britain only, but to the Colonies. The legislative supremacy of the British Parliament, against the assertion of which the American Colonists revolted, and which to-day would be found intolerable in Canada and Australia, cannot be yielded in the case of an island where independent action might very well be attended with fatal consequences to its partner.

The instrument for such action, in the shape of an independent Parliament, could not safely be trusted, even to avowed friends." [1]

It is the purpose of this chapter to indicate the extent of the risks involved in the acceptance of the present Home Rule Bill; and with that end in view it is necessary to premise both a state of war between England and a foreign power and at least a part of Ireland hostile or disaffected. The possibility of war no one will deny, and the latter assumption does not involve a wide stretch of the imagination. When considering the conditions of national safety even remotely possible risks must be contemplated. Even if we disregard the Gladstonian period of Fenian agitation and confine attention to the present century, the history of the past thirteen years shows that the risk of a hostile Ireland is far from remote.

The attitude of many Irishmen at the time of the South African War is eloquent testimony of the fact. The following resolution was adopted by no less than twenty-seven County Councils outside Ulster, composed, as explained in a previous chapter, of nominees of the Nationalist Party—

"That we, the members of the Mayo County Council, congratulate the gallant Boers on their brilliant defeats of the troops of the pirate Saxon. That we hope that a just Providence will strengthen the arms of these farmer fighters in their brave struggle for their independence. And we trust that as Babylon fell, and as Rome fell, so also may fall the race and nation whose

[1] Admiral Mahan of the United States' Navy, in the *National Review*, May, 1902.

creed is the creed of greed and whose God is the God of Mammon."

It will also be remembered that an "Irish Brigade" was formed—which took part in the War—fighting on the side of the Boers. The leader, "Colonel" Lynch —who was captured by the British and brought to England—was tried for treason and convicted. By the clemency of the Unionist Government, the death sentence was remitted, and after a short term of imprisonment Lynch was released. He now represents the Nationalist constituency of West Clare in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.[1]

Twelve years is a short time in the life-history of a nation. It is true the leaders of the Nationalist Party are at the moment profuse in professions of loyalty at a time when they come, cap in hand, begging a new constitution from the British people. But surely that does not justify the suggestion that their misdeeds should be forgotten, nor is it possible to ignore the lessons of the past in estimating the risk of danger in the future.

Moreover, even if we could accept the alleged loyalty of Irish Nationalists at its face value, it must be borne in mind that there is at this day, in the South and West of Ireland, a strong section of

[1] Speeches by Nationalist Members of Parliament denouncing recruiting for the British Army and acclaiming British reverses were a common occurrence at the time. The following declaration is significant and not easily forgotten: Mr. John Dillon, M.P., in the House of Commons, April 17th, 1902, "I take the opportunity of admitting in this House that I am intensely disloyal; and the Chief Secretary himself knows that in making that admission I am giving the best and most adequate expression I could give to the sentiments of more than three-fourths of the Irish nation."—*Parl. Debates*, April 17th, 1902, vol. 106, col. 599.

avowedly separatist opinion; and it is not a large assumption that such extreme views would be represented in the Irish Parliament.[1]

The following extract from a monthly paper[2] published in Cork and Dublin is typical of the attitude of the extremist section—

"Of course we are 'a part of the Empire,' and all that sort of thing—and Mr. Asquith says we are a loyal part—and Mr. Redmond is busy cementing the Union—but what are we going to do? War between England and Germany is practically inevitable and its issue is uncertain. When it comes Germany will be as strong as England on paper. Whether she will be weaker or stronger in efficiency and fighting power time alone will tell. But these two Powers are going to fight for the hegemony of Europe, and the only thing that seems certain about the result is that the longer it is postponed the smaller are England's chances of victory. . . . Ireland within this next few years will have the greatest opportunity for asserting her independence that has come since the days of Napoleon. She can use that opportunity or she can let it slip—but which is it going to be? Think well on it, men of Ireland, and make up your minds—there is not much time to lose. And on your decision it will depend whether Ireland will be in twenty years time a free Republic or an exhausted province."

Comment is unnecessary. Add to this the manifest opportunities for friction contained in the complicated

[1] For an account of the various Separatist organisations in Ireland see Cambray's *Irish Affairs*, p. 123, *et seq.*

[2] *Irish Freedom*, January, 1913.

and impracticable provisions of the Home Rule Bill, and the public refusal of some even of the members of the official Nationalist Party to regard it as a final settlement of their demands, and it is easy to foresee the possibility of a strongly anti-English majority in the Irish Parliament in the face of the refusal of the British Parliament to grant further concessions.

In short, it is impossible for anyone with a knowledge of the past history of the relations between England and Ireland to deny that there is a risk—and Unionists think a grave risk—of pronounced hostility in Ireland should we become involved in war with a foreign power.

It is obvious that the Irish Executive under an independent Parliament would be better able to render assistance to a foreign enemy than the Executive under the hybrid constitution to be set up under the present Home Rule Bill. By Clause 2 (2) and (3) of the Bill the Irish Parliament would have no power to make laws with regard to peace or war, the Navy or Army, or any naval or military matter: the general intention being to place naval and military affairs outside the jurisdiction of the Irish Government.

Nevertheless, apart from the mere question of the illegality of raising an armed force, the power to control the general administration of the country would enable the Irish Government seriously to embarrass the operations of the naval and military authorities. It needs no argument to show that, assuming the Irish Government to be animated with the hostile sentiments which existed in many parts of Ireland at the time of the South African War, the only

safe course in the event of war with a European power would be to supersede the civil Government of the country by a military dictatorship. It is beside the point to argue that such sentiments have in the past existed in Ireland when England has been at war and will have no greater force if Home Rule is established. The point is that a hostile Irish Parliament in control of the administration all over the country would be able to translate into action the sentiments which under the present unitary system do no immediate harm owing to the lack of an organisation sufficiently powerful to give effect to them.

Consider the position of an army in Ireland hampered by the disaffection of the populace urged on by the instigation of a Parliament and Executive imbued with anti-English sentiments.

For example, the control of telegraphs between places inside Ireland would be in the hands of Irish officials. Upon the outbreak of war it is probable that the military would assume control of telegraphs at all important points. Imagine the effect produced by the Irish authorities declining to hand over their lines, or by tampering with the system before giving up possession.

Again, the Bill gives the Irish Parliament control over railways and power to nationalise them. All transport would therefore be in their hands, together with the supervision of tunnels and bridges.

To put the matter in the most favourable light, if the commander of an army operating in home country is unable to rely upon the goodwill and assistance of

the civil authorities, he is deprived of an important advantage ; while if for apathy we substitute deliberate obstruction and interference the consequences are almost as grave as open insurrection.

The naval problem is even more serious. Broadly speaking the strategic position of Ireland is important to an enemy in two respects. The first consideration is the possibility of invading and occupying Ireland for use as a base for attacking England. It has been argued that an enemy desiring to invade England would select the speediest route for arriving at the heart of the country, while the invasion of Ireland would involve re-embarkation before England could be reached. A hostile invader coming from the North of Europe—such as Germany or Russia—to effect an invasion in this way would either have to force the English Channel and keep it open for long enough to allow the passage of the troopships containing the invading army—a hazardous and almost impossible undertaking in the most favourable circumstances—or else would have to take the North-about route between the coast of Norway and the Shetland Islands and skirt the North of Scotland before reaching Ireland. It might not be difficult by hugging the Scandinavian coast and proceeding to the extreme north before steaming westward, to evade the British fleet in the North Sea and off the coast of Scotland, but this would involve a long sea passage with troops. As surprise is of the essence of invasion, the advantage of the quick passage to the flat east coast of England renders this the more probable plan.

In regard to the choice of alternative routes the

argument is no doubt sound, but there appears to be no reason why an enemy should not adopt both plans simultaneously. Given sufficient troops and secure of a friendly reception in Ireland, it would not be unreasonable for Germany, for example, to send a force by the North-about route to occupy Ireland and establish a base there, while engaging the energies of Britain's defensive forces by a raid on the east coast of England. The plan would have the additional merit of opening the attack upon England from two sides at once and preventing the concentration of forces in the North Sea. If the invading force were unable to rely upon the co-operation of the Irish to allow it to obtain a firm footing in the country, the scheme would be too hazardous, because the invading force would be too far removed from its base to maintain a sustained attack ; and, if repulsed, would have to choose between surrender and putting to sea again. With a base of operations on the Irish coast and assisted by the Irish Government with the whole resources of the island at its disposal, the enemy would be able to establish itself and await a favourable opportunity for renewing the attack.

Theoretical arguments based upon hypothetical premises are necessarily open to criticism on that ground ; and the above suggestions are put forward by a layman with some diffidence merely to indicate the essential weakness of our defensive position, if the Government of Ireland is to be in the hands of a disloyal and disaffected Parliament.

The actual method by which an invading force could best avail itself of Irish co-operation is a matter

for the decision of naval and military experts, but it cannot be gainsaid that a hostile Ireland would offer considerable temptation to an invading force to avail itself of the weakest spot in the defensive scheme of a disunited Kingdom.

The second point concerns the supply of food to England from abroad in time of war. Eminent authorities have pointed out the danger of allowing Ireland to become a possible base for the enemy's commerce-destroying cruisers.[1]

It is hardly necessary to emphasise that in the event of a great European war England would stand to suffer more by the stoppage of sea-borne food supplies than from the effects of a successful raid. Starvation would be a deadlier weapon than invasion. Practically the whole of the foreign food supplies come up the English Channel, either across the Atlantic or through the Bay of Biscay from the Mediterranean.

Having regard to the magnificent natural harbours on the South and West coasts of Ireland,[2] which might be used as bases in which to shelter fast commerce-destroying cruisers and converted merchant vessels of the enemy, the strategic importance of the island is at once apparent.

It would be possible, for instance, for an enemy with the assistance of the Irish Government to accumulate

[1] See Lord Charles Beresford in *Against Home Rule.* Lord Ellenborough and others in the *United Service Magazine* for November–December, 1912.

[2] For instance, Bantry Bay, Kenmare River, Dingle Bay, the Shannon, Galway Bay, the Killaries, Clew Bay, Donegal, and Lough Swilly.

stores, coal, and ammunition at various points on the Western Coast before the outbreak of war. With the active help of the Irish Executive it would not require much ingenuity to escape the detection of the British naval authorities. Hostile cruisers scouring the Atlantic in search of food-laden vessels would be far removed from their own base; and the advantage of being able to coal, make slight repairs, and take in stores and ammunition at a comparatively short distance from the scene of operations would enable them to remain a much longer time at sea.[1]

Such considerations would certainly attract the attention of the enemy's war staff; and were the Irish Parliament and Executive disaffected at the moment of a European crisis, an endeavour would no doubt be made by the enemy to secure their co-operation.

In making the above analysis of the position, conclusions have been based upon the present distribution of forces in Europe. In the at present unlikely event of a re-shuffling of the alliances between the great Powers, other considerations might arise to increase the strategic importance of Ireland, which is in some respects less than it was in the days when we had to measure our strength against France and Spain. On the other hand, in whatever way the balance of power may be arranged in Europe in future, nothing can alter the menace of a hostile Ireland stretched as it

[1] The fear of starvation would not affect the Irish to the same extent. Being an agricultural country, they would be able to live on their own produce.

were like a barrier between England and her food supplies from America and the Argentine.

It is important to note in this connection that in the event of an attack by an enemy from the East of Europe, the tendency will be for commerce, for the sake of greater security, to concentrate in the western ports of England and Scotland—Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow—each of them only separated from the Irish coast by a short sea passage. The moral effect of a hostile resolution by the Irish Parliament would be severely felt in shipping circles in consequence.

Prices would rise immediately and it would be difficult to avert a panic.

Of equal importance with the practical assistance which an Irish Government could render would be the moral effect of an open declaration of sympathy with a foreign enemy. At the most critical stage of diplomatic negotiations, when the question of peace or war hung in the balance or at the turning-point of a campaign—the expressed hostility of the Irish Parliament might be sufficient to turn the balance against England.

It only remains to add that the present Home Rule proposals are regarded by many as the first step towards practical independence—" England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." In the event of international complications the menace of the open hostility of the Irish Parliament would be a powerful lever to extract further concessions from the British people as the price of quiescence.

The case of the Colonies is no analogy. Their loyalty is a byword. Apart from that, they do

not lie at our door. The disaffection of a Colony separated by thousands of miles from the Mother Country would count for little in comparison with that of Ireland.

A rebellious Irish Parliament would be a danger spot at the heart of the Empire.

CHAPTER VII

UNIONIST CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY

It is not within the compass of this work to give more than a brief outline of the reforms introduced and carried out by the Unionist Party. Limits of space prevent a detailed account of the legislative and administrative changes which have effected the complete change in Irish conditions referred to at the beginning of this book.

With the exception of the manufacturing districts in the North-East agriculture is the main industry of Ireland. Unionist policy has therefore been chiefly concerned with the improvement of agricultural conditions. This object has been achieved by a combination of State action and private effort. During the greater part of last century Ireland was abandoned to the *laisser faire* methods of Mr. Gladstone and his predecessors.

The task of solving the problem of Irish discontent by the help of State enterprise and British credit was begun by the passage of the Ashbourne Land Purchase Act under Lord Salisbury's Ministry in 1885, and was continued by Mr. Arthur Balfour during the time when he was Chief Secretary from 1887 to 1891. He began with the construction of a system of light railways [1] to the impoverished districts on the Western coast, and continued with the creation of the Congested Districts Board. Since that time successive Unionist

[1] Light Railways Act, 1890, carried in the face of the persistent obstruction of the Nationalist Party.

Ministries have carried out a number of reforms, of which the more important are given below.

Congested Districts Board

This Board was established by Mr. A. J. Balfour, in 1891, for the purpose of improving the conditions of the agricultural population in the poorest parts of Ireland—particularly in the West and South-West districts.

The term "Congested Districts" must not be confused with the congestion of population common in the slums of large towns. It relates in this connection to the subdivision of agricultural land among peasant farmers in such small quantities as to make the holdings "un-economic."

The comparative density of the population, coupled with an obsolete system of tenancy, caused the subdivision of the land into such small and scattered holdings that it was impossible for it to be properly farmed. From this cause and an appalling ignorance of modern agricultural science the land gave a very small return for the industry employed on it.

Part of the work of the Congested Districts Board has therefore been to purchase "congested" land, to put it into a proper condition, re-arrange the holdings, and migrate part of the population to less thickly populated districts.

An equally important part of their functions has been the improvement of methods of farming and the re-habilitation of declining industries.

The schemes carried out by the Board include such matters as the introduction of modern machinery, sold

by the Board below cost price ; the provision of pure seed and good manure ; assistance to tenants to provide proper farm buildings and improve the sanitary conditions of their cottages ; the construction of roads ; classes and practical demonstration in agricultural science ; the developments of new industries, particularly among women and girls ; the promotion of co-operation and credit banks ; and the re-establishment of the fishing industry on a sound foundation.

An extensive enquiry was made, under the present Liberal Government, by a Royal Commission in 1908 into the operations of the Congested Districts Board and the work done was found to be so satisfactory, that the Board has now been given new and extended powers.[1]

The present income of the Board is over £250,000, in addition to any money which may be required for land purchase.

The success of this part of Unionist policy can only be fully appreciated by those who knew the state of the poorer parts of the country before the Congested Districts Board was established. It has effected a complete change in those districts and many a small farmer will be found to-day who takes no interest in party politics, but is ready to bless the name of Balfour.

The Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

This Department was established in 1899 by an Act of Parliament introduced by the Unionist Government then in power. The Department is a new

[1] See Dudley, *Commission Report*, Cd. 4,097.

Photo by Russell & Sons

THE RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.

Prime Minister in the late Unionist Administration.
The founder of Irish prosperity.

experiment in legislation in this country, and owes its origin to Sir Horace Plunkett—the founder, in 1894, of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. In the autumn of 1895 he issued an invitation, in the form of an open letter, to the representatives of all shades of political opinion [1] in Ireland to form a committee for the purpose of enquiring into the means by which the Government could best assist the development of agriculture in Ireland. This committee, known as the Recess Committee—because it met during the Parliamentary recess—in less than a year issued a report, based upon extensive investigations into systems of State aid combined with voluntary effort existing in other European countries.

This report formed the foundation of the Act of 1899,[2] and the department was set up with Sir Horace Plunkett as the first vice-president. There is no room in this short outline for a detailed examination of the measure; but broadly speaking the object of the new Department was to achieve for the whole of Ireland the successful development of agricultural science and stimulation of co-operative effort which was already being accomplished by the Congested Districts Board in the impoverished districts of Western Ireland.

The work of the Department falls roughly under two heads: on the one hand to exercise a general

[1] It is notable that Mr. Justin McCarthy, who was then the leader of the official Nationalist Party, declined to co-operate because he interpreted Sir Horace Plunkett's letter as "the expression of a belief that if your policy could be successfully carried out, the Irish people would cease to desire Home Rule."

[2] Prepared by Mr. Gerald Balfour, brother of the late Prime Minister—and at the time Chief Secretary for Ireland.

supervision over Irish agriculture and to enquire into the methods best suited to Irish conditions; and on the other to educate the Irish agricultural population in modern agricultural science.

The wide scope of the work of the Department may be gathered from the "*purposes of agriculture and other rural industries*" for which under the Act the funds of the Department may be expended.

In the wording of the Act, these purposes are—

> "the aiding, improving, and developing of agriculture, horticulture, forestry, dairying, the breeding of horses, cattle, and other live stock and poultry, home and cottage industries, the preparation and cultivation of flax, inland fisheries, and any industries immediately connected with and subservient to any of the said matters, and any instruction relating thereto, and the facilitating of the carriage and distribution of produce."

It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of the educational work done by the Department through classes and itinerant instructors in every part of the country.

It is important to observe that care has been taken to keep in close touch with local conditions by working as far as possible in conjunction with existing voluntary organisations and local authorities. In this respect, the Department receives the assistance of the Council of Agriculture, an advisory body set up by the Act—two-thirds of the members of which are elected by the County Councils and one-third by the Department.

The working of the Department was the subject of

an enquiry by a Departmental Committee under the Liberal Government in 1907, who reported favourably both as regards the substance of the Act itself and the way in which it was carried out.

Land Purchase

The land purchase system is the keystone of Irish prosperity. The other reforms mentioned in this chapter have done much to help the solution of the Irish question, but it is doubtful whether without land purchase they would have had any permanent effect. For more than two centuries the land question had been at the root of Irish discontent and agitation. It would take too long to trace the failure of the Irish land system from the absentee landlords of the eighteenth century—with the vicious system of "middlemen" management and successive sublettings [1]—to the disastrous policy attempted by Mr. Gladstone of creating a permanent dual ownership shared between landlord and tenant and equally unsatisfactory to both. The acute depression in Ireland in the nineteenth century was due to this unsound system of land tenure, combined with the effect of the introduction of "free trade" upon a country whose main industry is agriculture.

The land purchase system is based upon the voluntary agreement between landlord and tenant for the purchase outright by the latter of the land comprising his holding. The purchase money is advanced by the

[1] "It is well known that over the most part of the country, the lands are sublet six deep, so that those who actually labour it are squeezed to the very utmost."—Official report in the eighteenth century.

British Government, who are obviously able to borrow at a lower rate of interest than the tenant. The tenant pays back the sum advanced in annual instalments, which are apportioned between interest on the advance and a sinking fund for the repayment of the capital.

The bargain is satisfactory to the landlord, because he obtains a lump sum in cash and is relieved of the management of his estates with the constant menace of agrarian trouble. It is satisfactory to the tenant, because while he becomes actual owner of the soil, the terminable annuity is less than the rent formerly paid to the landlord. The secret of the success of land purchase lies in the stimulus of ownership, based on the knowledge of the peasant proprietor that he will be able to reap the full reward of whatever energy and industry he puts into the cultivation of his land. In addition to this, the desire to protect his own property is a powerful inducement to the small owner to range himself on the side of law and order. The theory of land purchase was, it is true, expounded by John Bright in the seventies; but, for lack of machinery to carry it into effect, it received no practical application until the Land Purchase Acts under the Conservative Governments in 1885 and 1889.[1] It would be out of place to describe here the gradual expansion of the system in the Balfour Acts of 1891 and 1896. The full development was not reached till the Irish Land Act of 1903.[2] This Act, backed by eighteen years' experience of the preceding Acts, was founded

[1] The Ashbourne Acts.

[2] Commonly called the Wyndham Act after the Rt. Hon. George Wyndham, M.P., who was Chief Secretary for Ireland at the time, and responsible for the preparation of the scheme.

on the recommendations of the historic conference of representatives of landlords and tenants in 1902.

Shortly stated, the scheme of the Act was as follows—

(1) The *cash* payment to the landlords was calculated on such a basis as to yield in sound securities an income of 90 per cent. of their former rents.

(2) The tenant's annual instalment was to be at the rate of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the purchase price, divided into $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for interest and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for sinking fund.

(3) The annual instalments were to continue for $62\frac{1}{2}$ years.

(4) There was a bonus of £12,000,000 to be provided by the British Government to supplement the amount which the Government were able to borrow.

(5) Wherever the annual instalment was substantially less than the rent the Government agreed to accept the land as security for the payment of the instalments, without the delay of a lengthy enquiry into the value of the security.

That the Act was satisfactory to both landlord and tenant is shown by the fact that during the five and a half years from April 30th, 1904, to October 31st, 1909, the number of purchase agreements lodged under the 1903 Act in regard to estates to be sold direct from landlord to tenant was 216,737, and the total amount of loans applied for was $73\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds.[1] But the pace was too fast to please the Nationalists. Mr. Dillon, who had never been a party to the Conference and bitterly opposed its findings, began a

[1] Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the House of Commons October 28th, 1908, and July 29th, 1910.

policy of persistent obstruction to the scheme—at first without much success. Eventually the whole Nationalist Party adopted Mr. Dillon's attitude, although Mr. John Redmond himself and other members of the party had taken part in the conference and had joined in the solemn agreement between landlords and tenants.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and a handful of his friends honourably adhered to the compact and retired from the party in disgust at the breach of faith of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues. The reason for the Nationalist betrayal is not far to seek. The demand for Home Rule cannot thrive under a contented Ireland and in Mr. Dillon's own words, the Act "has worked too smoothly—far too smoothly, to my mind." [1]

Throughout the long controversy on the Home Rule question it has always been the policy of the Nationalist Party to couple the demand for an Irish Parliament with some substantial source of discontent. The land problem has given them ample opportunity. Faced with the disappearance of the land question, they appreciate that the material for agitation will be exhausted—the driving power behind the Home Rule cry will be gone. Accordingly, it has been their consistent policy to obstruct reform; and in the few cases in which they have been tempted to co-operate, the successful results of their co-operation have brought about a swift repentance.

However in spite of Nationalist obstruction the Act of 1903 satisfied both landlord and tenant. But

[1] At Swinford, September 10th, 1906.

in 1909, owing to the fall in gilt-edged securities, the present Government being no longer able to borrow at a sufficiently low rate of interest were obliged to introduce a fresh Land Bill amending the finance of the 1903 Act. The Nationalist Party were not slow to seize the opportunity. Pressure was put upon the Liberal Government to draft the new Bill in such a way that ever since land purchase has been brought to a standstill. The falling off in the number of agreements made and advances applied for was immediate and remarkable.

NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS LODGED

	Total.	Average per annum.
Act of 1903. In 6 years from April 30th, 1904, to October 31st, 1909	216,737	36,000
Act of 1909. In 2 years from December 3rd, 1909, to December 3rd, 1911	8,992	4,490

Taking the comparison another way, up to June, 1912, under the 1903 Act the total amount advanced by way of loan was 54 million pounds sterling, while under the 1909 Act the amount is only just over 1½ millions.[1] The failure of the Act of 1909 was only to be expected. The cardinal features of the 1903 Act were abandoned in breach of the compact between landlord and tenant in 1902.

The following were the more important changes—

1. The landlords are to be paid, not in cash, but in 3 per cent. stock at 94, issued on a falling market. As 1909 Irish Land Stock now stands at 82, it follows that the Government are in fact offering the landlords

[1] See White Paper issued January 13th, 1913.

£82 for every £94 that was offered under the 1903 Act.[1]

2. The tenant's annual instalments have been raised to a higher rate. He has now to pay instalments of £3 10s. per annum for every £100, instead of £3 5s. under the 1903 Act—without any counterbalancing advantage in the form of a reduced number of years.

3. A sum of £12,000,000 was provided under the 1903 Act for the purpose of giving a bonus to the landlords to induce them to sell. The Government, at the bidding of Mr. Dillon, have diverted the balance of this sum to other purposes.

4. A system of tedious examination of prospective transactions—with all the defects of litigation—has been substituted for the simple course pursued under the 1903 Act of accepting the land as security for the sum advanced by the Government. The result has been to interpose an awkward period of delay at the critical stage of negotiations between landlord and tenant, which frequently results in their breakdown.

(These conditions applied only to future agreements; but even existing agreements awaiting completion were upset by the decision to prefer those landlords who would agree to take half their payment in stock in deliberate breach of the 1902 agreement.)

In consequence, land purchase is at a standstill. Although both landlord and tenant are willing and

[1] It is useless to expect an appreciation in the value of Irish Land Stock owing to the flooded state of the market. Owing to the necessity for immediate sale for the purpose of redeeming mortgages with which Irish estates are heavily encumbered, half the stock issued to the landlords is immediately thrown on the market.

anxious to see its completion, Mr. Birrell's Act of 1909 blocks the way. Mr. Dillon's policy of obstruction and delay has triumphed, though fortunately not before over half the arable land of the country—and that the better half—has become vested in peasant proprietors under the 1903 Act.

Though the arts of agitation are not yet exhausted, the Irish farmers are beginning to appreciate that the Unionist Act of 1903 has resulted in the advance of 54 millions sterling [1] of British money; while the Nationalist Act of 1909 has produced only a million and a half, and has blocked the whole scheme.

It will be the task of the Unionist Party, when they are returned to power, to secure the immediate completion of land purchase in the spirit of the Act of 1903: speedy transfer on terms agreed between landlord and tenant.

In the words of Mr. Bonar Law: "The object is of such vital importance that whatever the difficulties, it must be our policy to complete with the utmost possible rapidity the system of land purchase in Ireland." [2]

Irish Local Government

Since the passing of the Irish Local Government Act, 1898, by a Unionist Government, Ireland has enjoyed the same system of local government by county and district councils as exists in the rest of the United Kingdom. Consequently, the administration of local

[1] The total amount of money advanced by the British Government by way of loan in aid of land purchase from the Ashbourne Act of 1885 to the Wyndham Act, 1903, is over *seventy-five millions sterling*. —Cd. 4,412 of 1908 and White Paper of January 13th, 1913.

[2] Preface to *Against Home Rule*.

affairs is entirely in the hands of the inhabitants of each particular district.

The members of the local councils are chosen by popular election, and have complete control over the levying and expending of the local rates and all parochial and county matters.

The way in which the agitators of the Nationalist Party have turned these local bodies into a close political organisation, to the exclusion of their political opponents, has been described in an earlier chapter.[1]

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society

A consideration of the causes of Irish progress and prosperity would be incomplete without a passing reference to the magnificent work done by Sir Horace Plunkett. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society —generally known as the I.A.O.S.—was formed by him, in 1894, as the result of five years untiring energy in teaching the necessity for organisation and co-operation among Irish farmers. The Society depends mainly upon voluntary subscriptions, and has always been run on a strictly non-political basis. "Its progress has been rapid and continuous; and to-day the co-operative societies connected with it number nearly 1,000, with a turnover of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling."

In conjunction with the Department of Agriculture, it has effected a transformation in agricultural conditions. Its branches include creameries, agricultural societies (for the purchase and distribution of seeds and manure), poultry-keeping societies, "credit bank" societies, and others of a miscellaneous character.

[1] Chapter III.

The I.A.O.S. recognises neither political nor religious differences, and has persistently kept aloof from party politics. Though three-fourths of its members are Nationalists, "business—not politics" has been its guiding principle; and for that reason, and the fact that it received assistance and encouragement from a Unionist Government, it has incurred the hostility of the official Nationalist Party. This attitude has been translated into active obstruction under the subservient Liberal Government at present in power. By compelling the retirement of Sir Horace Plunkett from the vice-presidency of the Department of Agriculture and obtaining the appointment of Mr. T. W. Russell in his place, the Nationalist Party have been able to secure the withdrawal of the contribution to the I.A.O.S. from the funds of the Department, and are endeavouring to prevent State assistance from other sources. The details of this petty intrigue would take too long to record here; they have been told elsewhere,[1] and are an interesting sidelight on Nationalist professions of devotion to Irish interests.

Unionist Policy in the Future

Much has been done, but much remains to do. Unionists are encouraged by the successful results of the work of the last thirty years to press forward with the policy of conciliating Irish sentiment by material and much-needed reforms. Their programme is comprehensive, and in addition to the completion of *Land Purchase*, includes *Educational Reform*, particularly in

[1] See the article by Mr. Gerald Balfour on Irish Rural Development in *Against Home Rule* (1912).

regard to intermediate education ; *Reform of the Poor Law*, on the lines of the majority report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Viceregal Commission of 1906 ; *Arterial Drainage*, to improve vast tracts of inhabited country which are liable to frequent inundation ; the *Reform of Private Bill Legislation ;*[1] the *Improvement of Transport Facilities ;* and various other schemes. It is beyond the scope of this volume to describe these proposals in detail. Those who desire further information will find the subject fully discussed in the essays contributed by the leaders and prominent Members of the Unionist Party to the volume *Against Home Rule.*

"Their views, in the main, represent the policy which the Unionist Government—when returned to power—will have to carry into effect."

In conclusion, it is clear that constructive proposals of this character can only be carried out by the assistance of Imperial credit. The British taxpayers have already advanced over 75 million pounds for land purchase alone, and will have to lend another 30 millions at least before the scheme is completed. It cannot be expected that they will consent to the expenditure of further large sums from the Imperial Exchequer if the control of Irish government is to be withdrawn from the Imperial Parliament and handed to a Nationalist Parliament at Dublin. In addition

[1] On the lines of the procedure applied to Scottish Private Bills in 1899 under which the enquiry into the subject matter of the Bill—a proposed new railway, waterworks or drainage scheme, etc., as the case may be—may take place before a local tribunal, instead of the expense and inconvenience of holding it before a Parliamentary Committee at Westminster.

to this, it is imperative that any such schemes of reform as are indicated above should be carried out in singleness of purpose and without the desire to benefit any political party or faction in Ireland. It is impossible to expect the fulfilment of these conditions under a Home Rule Parliament. The Nationalist Party would have neither the money with which to finance reforms nor the experience to carry them out, while their past reputation for intrigue belies the expectation that their energies would be directed to a sincere and disinterested policy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOME RULE BILL, 1912

THE previous chapters have dealt with the general conditions prevailing in Ireland and the relations between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom, in order to show that the establishment of Home Rule in any form would be disastrous alike to Ireland and to Great Britain. It now becomes necessary to examine the main features of the present Home Rule Bill. It will be found that the measure, while possessing all the defects which are inherent in any scheme of Home Rule, contains many features which, apart from the main principle, would produce friction and discontent, and in spite of the most cordial relations between the two Parliaments, would be sufficient to make the new Constitution unworkable.

The following is a concise account of the main provisions of the Bill as it left the House of Commons. (For text of Bill, *see* APPENDIX.) In order that the reader may obtain a complete view of the scheme of the Bill, comment is reserved until the conclusion of the following outline of its contents.

COMPOSITION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT

The proposed Irish Parliament is to consist of the King, the Irish Senate, and the Irish House of Commons.

The Senate is to consist of forty members, in the first instance nominated by the Lord-Lieutenant

acting on the instructions of the Imperial Government; the members of subsequent Senates to be chosen by popular election (by the system known as proportional representation).

The House of Commons is to consist of 164 members elected on the existing franchise and according to the constituencies set out in the Schedule to the Bill—128 county members, 34 borough members, and 2 members for Dublin University.

The Powers of the Irish Parliament

The Irish Parliament would have power "to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland."

The limitations upon its powers of legislation fall into three classes—

1. It is to have power to make laws only in respect of matters relating exclusively to Ireland. In particular, certain Imperial matters are set out in Clause 2 of the Bill on which it is expressly prohibited from legislating—

(1) Crown.

(2) Peace or war.

(3) Naval and military affairs.

(4) Treaties and foreign affairs.

(5) Dignities or titles of honour.

(6) Treason; aliens; naturalisation; domicile.

(7) Foreign trade, except agencies for improving trade and preventing fraud; navigation; merchant shipping; bounties on exports.

(8) Postal services, except those performed completely within Ireland; designs for stamps.

(9) Lighthouses, etc.
(10) Coinage, weights and measures.
(11) Trade marks, copyrights, patents.

2. Certain departments of Irish Government are withheld from the Irish Parliament and reserved to the Imperial Parliament (Clause 2). These are designated "Reserved Services" as contrasted with "Irish Services." They are—

(1) Land Purchase.
(2) Old Age Pensions.
(3) National Insurance.
(4) Labour Exchanges.
(5) Collection of Taxes.
(6) Royal Irish Constabulary.
(7) Post Office Savings Bank, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies.
(8) Public loans in Ireland before the passing of the Act.

Old Age Pensions, Health and Unemployment Insurance, and Labour Exchanges can be transferred to the Irish Parliament one year after a resolution is passed in both Houses of the Irish Parliament requesting such transfer.

The Royal Irish Constabulary—the semi-military police force of Ireland—is to be automatically transferred at the end of six years.

The Post Office Savings Banks, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies cannot be transferred for ten years.

The supervision and control of Land Purchase and the collection of all taxes are permanently reserved to the Imperial Parliament.

3. Clause 3 of the Bill places certain restrictions [1] on the character of legislation with the view of securing religious equality. These restrictions are the alleged safeguards against the unfair treatment of the Protestant minority.

Irish Representation at Westminster

Ireland is to be represented in the Imperial Parliament by 42 members, who will sit and vote for all purposes. The present number of Irish members is 103, which is excessive : her proper proportion on a basis of population is 66.

Imperial Supremacy

The legal supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is retained (Clause 1 [2]). The Lord-Lieutenant will have power to give or withhold assent to Bills ; but (1) must comply with instructions given by the Imperial Government in respect of any Bill, and (2) he must postpone giving assent if the Imperial Government so direct.

The Irish Parliament would have no power to alter the new Constitution (except where specially provided in the Bill), and would have no power to alter any Act of the Imperial Parliament relating to Ireland passed subsequently to the establishment of the Irish Parliament, although on a subject on which the Irish Parliament has power to make laws. Any such enactment of the Irish Parliament would be void to the extent of its repugnancy with the Act of the Imperial Parliament.

[1] For a list of these see Clause 3 in the copy of the Bill in Appendix.

Constitutional Questions

Any questions arising as to the validity of an Irish Act would be decided, in the first instance, by the ordinary Irish Courts of Justice, with appeal as of right to the Irish Court of Appeal. A further appeal may be made from that Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but only by leave of the King or of the Court of Appeal.

The question as to the validity of an Irish Act, or whether a proposed Irish Bill be *ultra vires*, may be referred immediately to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council by His Majesty, on the recommendation of the Lord-Lieutenant or a Secretary of State.

Executive Power

The administration of Irish services will be carried out by Irish Departments; and the persons at the head of the Irish Departments will be Irish Ministers, who must be—

1. Members of the Irish Privy Council;
2. Members of the Irish Parliament,

within six months of appointment.

The Irish Ministers form the Executive Committee to "aid and advise the Lord-Lieutenant in the exercise of his executive power in relation to Irish Services"—in other words, the Irish Cabinet. (Clause 4 [5]).

Departmental Arrangements

Clause 40.—Arrangements may be made by any Department of the Government of the United Kingdom for the performance of any of its duties in Ireland by

officers of an Irish Department and *vice versa*. A proviso is added that no such arrangement shall diminish the responsibility of the Department by which it is made.

Judiciary

Existing judges are to be retained on the same terms as at present; but all future judges are to be appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant on the advice of his Ministers, and to be removable only on Address from both Houses of the Irish Parliament.

Provisions relating to Civil Servants will be found in Clauses 32 and 33.

Finance

Just as the financial arrangements are the most important, so they are the most faulty part of the whole scheme.

The finance of the Bill is based upon the calculation of Irish revenue and expenditure contained in the Treasury White Paper,[1] issued by the Government with the Bill, and is drafted with the intention that the funds at the disposal of the Irish Government shall be the same as the present cost of Irish administration, plus a bonus of £500,000 per annum to meet the expense of setting up the new system. This sum would ultimately be reduced to £200,000 per annum.

[1] Cd. 6,154. Extracts from this financial outline are given in Appendix B of this book.

The accuracy of the Government calculations has been disputed by various authorities, but for the purpose of the argument in the following pages they are assumed to be correct.

According to the official calculation, Irish expenditure at present exceeds Irish revenue by 1½ million pounds,[1] so that the inducement offered by the Bill to the British taxpayer is an initial loss of two millions per annum. The statement that Great Britain by granting Home Rule will be able to "cut the loss" is entirely false. As will be seen, under the proposed arrangement, the liability of Great Britain to bear any deficit arising from a decrease of Irish revenue remains unchanged under the Bill.

The finance of the Bill must be considered from four points of view: The imposition of taxation; the collection of taxes, revenue, and expenditure.

There will be two systems of taxation in Ireland—

(1) Taxes imposed by the Imperial Parliament;

(2) Taxes imposed by the Irish Parliament.

The proceeds of all taxes levied in Ireland, whether

[1] The deficit is caused by the social legislation of the present Government which, however beneficial, is undoubtedly costly. Old Age pensions were established throughout the United Kingdom in 1908. Old Age pensions in Ireland alone cost 2½ millions—one million more than the deficit complained of by the Government. While they lose no opportunity in making what capital they can out of the fact that, according to their method of calculation, Ireland is being run at a loss, the Government do not appear to have drawn attention to the fact that the loss is of their own creation. From the Unionist point of view, it appears invidious to draw a debtor and creditor account between the various parts of the United Kingdom; ameliorative legislation should be extended equally to all parts of the country; and if there is to be any distinction, the poorer parts should be specially singled out for development, in order that in time they may become as flourishing as their more prosperous neighbours.

imposed by the Imperial Parliament or by the Irish Parliament, are to be paid into the Imperial Exchequer.

The collection of taxes is reserved absolutely to the Imperial Parliament.

There will be two main sources of revenue at the disposal of the Irish Parliament—

A. Revenue derived from the Imperial Parliament in the form of a fixed annual grant.

B. Revenue from taxes imposed by the Irish Parliament, which would be collected by Imperial officials, paid into the British Exchequer and paid out again to the Irish Exchequer.

The whole of the Irish revenue would be paid out of the British Treasury in the form of an annual payment known as the Transferred Sum, composed as follows—

A. (1) A sum representing the net cost to Great Britain of the Irish administration at the time of the passing of the Act—less the cost of the Reserved Services.

(2) A grant of £500,000 a year for three years, thereafter diminishing by £50,000 a year until it is reduced to £200,000.

B. The proceeds of any taxes imposed by the Irish Parliament.

The Transferred Sum will be subject to certain deductions for sums guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament and for various miscellaneous charges. (*See* Clauses 18, 20, 31 [3], 32, 33 [4], 35, 37 [5], and 42.)

Three possible causes of deductions from the Transferred Sum call for special attention—

(1) If an Imperial tax is reduced or discontinued

by the Irish Parliament, the Transferred Sum is reduced accordingly.

(2) Deductions will be made on account of any decrease in the yield of an Imperial tax in Ireland, owing to the increase by the Irish Parliament in the rate of the tax.[1] (Clause 17 [4].)

(3) Deduction will also be made on account of the excessive cost of collection of any Irish tax in proportion to the yield of the tax.

The question whether the cost of collection is excessive is determined by the Joint Exchequer Board. (Clause 17 [5].)

The cost of all Irish Services (*i.e.*, all Irish administration other than the Reserved Services) has to be met by the Irish Parliament out of the above revenue.

Taxation

Imperial taxes will continue to be levied in Ireland. Power is given to the Irish Parliament—

(1) to vary Imperial taxes by way of addition, reduction, or discontinuance ;

(2) to impose new taxes, so long as any such tax is not "substantially the same in character as an Imperial tax." (Clause 15 [1].)

But there are very important restrictions in relation to Customs, Income Tax, and Death Duties, which are the principal taxes at present in force.

Customs

The Irish Parliament will have power to impose

[1] *i.e.*, on the principle that if an excise tax or import duty is increased above a certain rate the tax will become less remunerative owing to the decreased consumption of the article.

Customs Duties, but only upon articles subject to Imperial Customs Duty. (Clause 15 [1] *a*.)

Such Imperial duties they may increase, but they have no power to discontinue or decrease them, nor may the corresponding Excise Duties be discontinued or decreased. Any increase in Customs Duty must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in Excise Duty.

The possible variations of Customs and Excise between Great Britain and Ireland involve provisions for drawbacks and duties in respect of articles sent from one part of the United Kingdom to another, and therefore entail the erection of a Customs barrier between England and Ireland. (*See* Clause 16.)

Except as regards duties on beer and spirits, any benefit to the Irish Exchequer from the increased yield of Customs, Income Tax, or Death Duty—due to an increase in the rate of tax by the Irish Parliament—is limited to 10 per cent. of the former yield of the tax. The surplus above 10 per cent. goes to the Imperial Exchequer, the intention being to prevent a greater increase than 10 per cent. in the rate of the tax.

The rate of Income Tax may not be increased (except in the case of incomes of over £5,000 a year). Variation is limited to exemptions, abatements, and reliefs.

Joint Exchequer Board

The assessments and calculations which are involved in this complicated scheme are entrusted to a Board set up under the Act—called the Joint Exchequer Board—consisting of five members.

By leave of His Majesty, there is to be an appeal from a decision of the Joint Exchequer Board to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the following questions only—

(1) Points of legal interpretation.

(2) Whether a tax of the Irish Parliament is substantially the same in character as an Imperial tax and, therefore, void. (Clause 30 [3].)

Subject to these two exceptions, the judgment of the Board is to be final and conclusive on any matter which is to be determined by them.

Revision of Financial Arrangements

If in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board during each of three successive years the "true" Irish Revenue (*i.e.*, the proceeds of Irish taxation and of Imperial taxation in Ireland and any other sums which may properly be regarded as Irish Revenue) exceeds the total cost of Irish administration (*i.e.*, the total cost of "Irish" Services plus the cost of the Reserved Services), then the Board are to report to the Imperial Treasury and the Lord-Lieutenant, and copies of the report are to be presented to both Parliaments. The presentation of the report shall be ground for revision by the Imperial Parliament of the financial provisions of the Act, with a view to—

(1) securing from Ireland an Imperial contribution ;

(2) giving Ireland extended powers of imposing and collecting taxes.

Additional members are then to be summoned to the Imperial Parliament from the Irish House of Commons in such numbers as will make the representation of Ireland at Westminster equivalent to the representation of Great Britain on the basis of population. (Clause 26 [3].)

It should be noted that this is widely different from the present representation of Ireland in the House of Commons by 103 members. At present her proper proportion on the basis of population is 66.

These additional members will be treated as members of the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of financial revision.

The method of selection of members of the Irish House of Commons for the purpose, and all other arrangements for carrying this Clause into effect, are not provided by the Bill, but are to be made by Order in Council at the time—such Order in Council to be laid before the House of Commons of the Imperial Parliament. (Clause 26 [3].)

Dealing, first, with the powers proposed to be conferred upon the Irish Parliament, it is apparent that the Bill follows the Australian model of loose federation rather than the Canadian system, by enumerating the matters which are reserved to the Imperial Parliament and transferring the residue to the Irish Parliament.

Emphasis has been repeatedly laid on the fact that the Irish Parliament is to be a strictly subordinate legislature, subject always to the control of the Imperial Parliament.

In that case, it would seem essential to follow the Canadian model by strictly defining the subjects of legislation within the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament, leaving the undefined residue to the Imperial Parliament.

Be that as it may, in any system of local government it is desirable that there should be a clear division between the functions of the local government and those of the central government, otherwise friction and divided responsibility are inevitable. The absence of this essential condition is stamped across every page of the Bill. Everywhere the duties of Irish officials and Imperial officials collide and conflict. It is true that under the Bill such essentially Imperial matters as the Army and Navy, Foreign Affairs, Treason, Domicile, and Coinage have been exclusively reserved to the Imperial Parliament: but there the clear line of cleavage ends. When we come to the "Reserved Services" we find that dual administration is inevitable in almost every Government Department.

For instance, the question of Land Purchase [1] is reserved to the Imperial Government; but the control of the Land Commission Courts, which are entrusted with the duty of judicially fixing the rents between landlord and tenant, is transferred to the Irish Government, although the price fixed for the land under the Land Purchase scheme must necessarily be mainly influenced by the judicial rent. Similarly, the administration of the Congested Districts Board, which is intimately associated with the

[1] See Chapter 7.

solution of the Land Purchase problem,[1] will be controlled by the Irish Government.[2]

Take again the question of Customs. The Irish Parliament will have the power to impose Customs Duties, but the extent to which they can do so will be absolutely dependent upon the action of the Imperial Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the Customs imposed by the Irish Parliament will be collected by British officials. The case of the Post Office is equally ludicrous. Letters going from one place to another in Ireland will be handled by an Irish Department. Letters going from a place in Ireland to a place in England or anywhere outside Ireland will be handled by a British Department.

Similarly with industrial legislation. Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, and Labour Exchanges are reserved to the Imperial Parliament; while every other description of industrial legislation is transferred to the Irish Parliament.

Not only is this dual system bound to lead to disputes and friction at every turn, but it is an odd interpretation of the Nationalist ideal of a truly National Parliament. It is, indeed, the half-hearted attempt to satisfy the "National" ideal that has produced this singular medley of inconsistencies. By common consent, a fully autonomous Parliament such as the Dominion Parliament of Canada has been ruled out as impossible. The authors of the Bill have

[1] According to Mr. Birrell, it is the largest landowner in the world, the value of the property in its hands being between six and seven million sterling.—*Par. Debates*, February 14th, 1913.

[2] See Mr. Asquith's reply to a question in the House of Commons. —*Par. Debates*, August 6th, 1912, col. 2933-5.

failed to recognise that you cannot have a "National" Parliament subject to restrictions at every turn; and that if you must have Home Rule, the only possible alternatives are either the grant of clearly-defined spheres of local legislation, as in the case of the provincial legislatures in Canada and Australia, or of subordinate powers of local administration as in the States of the Union of South Africa. They have with one hand set up the framework of a National Parliament, and with the other have so hedged it in with reservations and restrictions as to make it impossible for the proposed Irish Parliament and Executive to perform their functions without at every turn coming into collision with the Imperial authorities.

Instead of allowing the Irish Parliament free play in certain clearly defined and limited Departments of Government, the Bill gives a practically unlimited sphere of legislative and administrative activity in Ireland, but subjects the Irish Parliament and Executive to constant interference by reserving part of the work of each Department to the Imperial Government.

We are told that the great safeguard against the abuse of authority by the Irish Parliament and Executive consists in the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, acting either through the veto of the Lord-Lieutenant to proposed legislation (Clause 7) or through the power of the Imperial Parliament to pass legislation on any matter affecting Ireland, even though upon a subject within the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament. (Clause 41 [1].)

The legal supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is complete *in theory*. For all practical purposes, it would be non-existent. It would be impossible to exercise it for the following reasons. Assume that the Lord-Lieutenant, acting on the instructions of the Imperial Government, declined to give his assent to any particular measure on the ground, for example, that it was unfair to the Protestant minority, injurious to the relations with England, or economically unsound. An Irish ministry, representing the majority in the Irish House of Commons and having the support of the electorate behind them would not unnaturally refuse to submit to interference, would resign their offices, and their party being in a majority there would be no one to take their place. To put the matter in a nutshell, the exercise of the Imperial veto in matters of Irish domestic legislation would be incompatible with the responsible Government of an Irish Ministry. It is beside the point to instance the case of the Colonial Parliaments. The Imperial veto it is true exists in theory. In practice it is rarely exercised.

In matters of purely domestic legislation the Imperial Government have no desire to interfere and would never dream of doing so, because it is recognised that in all matters affecting the internal affairs of a colony the Colonial Government is and must be supreme. It is only where grave Imperial interests are involved that the power of the Imperial Government to veto Acts of the Colonial Parliaments is exercised.

From an examination of three returns (House of

Lords Paper 196 of 1894 and House of Commons Papers 362 of 1901 and 184 of 1906), it appears that the number of occasions on which assent has been refused to Colonial measures is 150; while in regard to matters within the legislative powers of the proposed Irish Parliament, during seventy years the veto of the Crown was only *permanently* exercised in forty-two cases in eighteen Colonies. It must also be borne in mind that during at least half of that period the theory of Imperial Government was in its infancy.

The dilemma in which the Imperial Government would be placed is well instanced in a case which took place in Natal in 1906—the case of the condemned Zulus. The Imperial Government issued instructions to the Governor of Natal to suspend the execution of several rebels in the Zulu rising of 1906 who had been condemned to death by court-martial. Constitutionally, the Imperial Government were in a strong position. Firstly, because the prerogative of mercy, exercisable by the Crown, was involved; secondly, because questions affecting the treatment of natives were expressly reserved in the Act which gave Natal responsible Government. Mark the result. On receipt of instructions from the Imperial Government to suspend the executions pending consideration, the Ministry of Natal resigned, and the Imperial Government were obliged to give way.

The fact that it has been found undesirable and unnecessary to exercise the veto of the Crown over the internal affairs of the Colonies has no application in the case of Ireland. Separated from the Colonies

by many thousands of miles, their domestic affairs do not intimately concern us.

Ireland is at our door—separated only by a narrow strip of sea : at one point it is not more than 12 miles from the coast of Great Britain. Consequently, the geographical position of Ireland, the intimate daily relations between the two countries, the manifold interests of individual Englishmen in Ireland and *vice-versa*, in fact, the whole relationship of Ireland to England—whether from an economic or strategic point of view—would prevent the Imperial Government from relinquishing their ultimate control over Irish domestic legislation.

Indeed, the Imperial veto—as has been said—is put forward by the Government[1] as an important safeguard against the oppression of the minority or threatened injury to English interests ; but in fact the more important the question at issue and the more determined the Irish Government to have their way, the more impossible would it be to exercise the veto of the Crown without creating a deadlock. If the Irish Ministry resigned—being supported by a majority in the Irish House of Commons—the British Government would be faced with two alternatives : to give way or to repeal the Home Rule Act.

This brings us to the consideration of the other safeguards (Clause 3) which were drafted by the Government for the purpose of maintaining religious equality and preventing religious oppression and intolerance.

In so far as it is possible to guard against *direct*

[1] Mr. Asquith (*House of Commons Debates*, April 11th, 1912, col. 1407).

legislation of an intolerant character the restrictions imposed by the Clause are fairly wide, but there is one important omission.

Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill in 1893 contained the following Clause (in the Bill as introduced): "The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any laws whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation."

This Clause is taken from the Constitution of the United States of America and is moulded on a Clause in Magna Charta, and while it is no safeguard against abuses by the Executive, it does set up the standard of elementary justice to which all legislation of the Irish Parliament should conform. The necessity for such a Clause was well stated in 1893 by Sir John Rigby, the Solicitor-General under Mr. Gladstone's Government—

"We can never repeat too often, or in too many forms of words, those essential doctrines by which we intend to guide and govern our own inferior Legislatures, or the conduct of any who are subject to our laws. The desirability and the necessity of repeating these things consists in this: That everyone's attention, in serious matters such as this, should be drawn to the fact that restrictions are imposed not by reason of want of faith in the honour and honesty of the body to whom powers are to be given, but because it is desirable in the interest of all that all should know the governing principles of our legislation. . . . It is well, therefore, that on a solemn occasion such as

this, when we are, as we hope, inaugurating a great Legislative Body for Ireland, we should recapitulate, formulate, and make plain to those who are to act under the law the lines on which it is intended they should act." [1]

It is remarkable that the considered judgment of Mr. Gladstone's Government has been disregarded by the authors of the present Bill. The Bill contains no such enumeration of general legislative principles; and Mr. Asquith, though repeatedly pressed to insert the clause from the 1893 Bill, has persistently refused to do so.

On the other hand, it is impossible to regard the alleged safeguards provided by Clause 3 as affording any real protection for the minority. It is plain that in any case when oppression is to be feared, the danger lies far more in the abuse of administrative authority than in the enactment of oppressive legislation. Legislation is attended by the widest publicity, is subject to the searching criticism of public opinion in England, and may frequently be prevented by determined opposition before any harm can be done. On the other hand, the slow poison of administrative oppression works in hidden channels, is easy to disguise under the pretence of the exigencies of national Government, and is frequently not detected until the harm is done.

Earl Dunraven—who is a strong Home Ruler, and voted for the Bill on the Second Reading in the House of Lords, because he is in favour of the principle—put this point very clearly—

[1] *Parl. Debates*, April 11th, 1893, cols. 113, 114.

"I should like to give my two principal reasons why I am perfectly sure that this Bill would never lead to a satisfactory and permanent settlement of the question. In the first place, I do not think the Bill provides a sufficient check on administration. It ought not to be necessary, but it is necessary now. The Ancient Order of Hibernians to which I alluded just now is a very formidable body. It is returned under the Insurance scheme as consisting of 130,000 members; it is a purely Catholic society—a secret society. I do not for a moment believe that it has any blood-curdling oath. It is no menace, of course, to Great Britain, nor is it any menace to Protestantism as such; but it is a menace to good administration in Ireland. It is not out for blood; it is out for plunder. It is a predatory association prowling about for jobs under the cloak of religion. It will die out in time, because its policy and methods are contrary to all that is best and strongest in the Irish character. But it is well organised, powerful, and rich; and when Protestants and Unionists in the North see the way in which Catholics and Nationalists in the South have been treated by this Society, simply because they objected to the methods of the society and because they stood for good administration and fair play, and for Ireland for all Irishmen—I can quite understand that the Protestants and Unionists in the North, when they see the way that men like Mr. O'Brien have been treated, are uneasy, and I think they have got ground for uneasiness." [1]

As a matter of fact, it is almost impossible to devise

[1] *Parl. Debates*, January 27th, 1913, cols. 480–1.

checks against administrative abuses when you are faced with the knowledge that whatever safeguards you may devise the whole of the executive machinery will be directed to circumventing them. Mr. Dillon —Mr. Redmond's lieutenant—probably spoke with more point than he was aware when he said, at Salford—

" . . . Then there was the question of guarantees. The Irish Party were asked if they were willing that guarantees should be inserted in the Home Rule measure to protect the Protestant minority. He (Mr. Dillon) attached no importance to these guarantees at all. He did not believe that artificial guarantees in an Act of Parliament were any real protection. He did not believe that the wit of man or the skill of a statesman could devise guarantees in an Act of Parliament which could protect the people who persisted in bitterly opposing the will of the great majority of their countrymen."[1]

Examination of the Finance of the Bill

It is when we consider the finance of the Bill that the hopelessness of the dual system becomes most depressing.

The financial scheme is damned with duality in every line. A dual system of taxation with dual control and divided responsibility would alone be a dangerous experiment; but with the complicated tangle of reservations and restrictions contained in its provisions, it would be beyond the limits of human

[1] *Freeman's Journal*, November 22nd, 1911.

diplomacy to prevent a violent collision between the British and Irish Exchequers.

Consider the practical effect of the financial scheme outlined earlier in this chapter.

In the first place Ireland would be subject to separate systems of taxation by the Imperial Parliament and the Irish Parliament respectively. The existing taxation of the whole of the United Kingdom by the Imperial Parliament is to continue, but the Irish Parliament are to have power to vary it and also to impose taxes of their own. Such is the principle. Note the practical application. The power to vary Imperial taxation is fenced in with restrictions to such an extent as to be worth nothing to the Irish Exchequer. As regards the three principal sources of revenue—Income Tax, Death Duties, and Customs —the powers of the Irish Parliament are strictly limited by the terms of the Bill.

Take, first, the case of Customs Duties. Contrary to the practice in every known federal system, the Irish Parliament is to have power to impose Customs Duties, but only on articles subject to Imperial Customs, and then only to the extent of 10 per cent. addition—except in the case of beer and spirits, which, be it noted, are already taxed up to the hilt.[1]

The only articles dutiable in the United Kingdom, in addition to alcohol, are tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and cocoa. The range for the 10 per cent. is accordingly

[1] Although taxation on spirits in the United Kingdom rose by 40 per cent. between 1895 and 1911, the proportionate receipts from taxation diminished by no less than £1,250,000.—Lord St. Aldwyn, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, *House of Lords Debates*, January 28th, 1913.

very small. In addition to this the whole scheme of the Irish Budget would be liable to break down at any moment by the decision of the British Treasury to re-model the British Customs system, for instance by conforming to the doctrine of a free breakfast table, which is being urged by many members of the Liberal Party. With greatly reduced duties on the above articles, the Irish Chancellor would either have to follow suit in the year next after the change was made, or have the mortification of seeing a large part of his revenue—above the 10 per cent. limit—absorbed by the British Treasury. Indeed the proposal is so fantastic that it is difficult to believe that it is seriously intended; it demonstrates the absurdity of attempting to raise a Customs barrier between the two countries.

Further the powerful "free trade" influences in the Liberal Party have procured the insertion of the proviso that any Customs duty prevailing in Ireland is to be accompanied by a corresponding Excise Duty, thereby preventing the Irish Parliament from doing anything to stimulate the production of Irish industries, for example Irish tobacco or beet-sugar.

Again, the Irish Parliament is not allowed to vary the *rate* of Income Tax (except in regard to incomes above £5,000 a year, of which there are not too many in Ireland). Their power of variation is limited to exemptions, abatements, and reliefs. Should they, by the exercise of much patience and ingenuity, succeed in so adapting the rates of abatement as to raise the total yield of the tax to more than 10 per cent. above what it would otherwise have been, the

British Treasury will retain any margin above that 10 per cent. limit The limit similarly applies in the case of Death Duties.

The principal sources of revenue being thus forestalled by the British Treasury, what remains to the Irish Parliament? They may not impose any tax substantially the same in character as an Imperial tax. What opportunities are there for independent taxation? There is a general feeling that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has already taxed everything that is taxable, except foreign imports. It is a well-worn cry of the Nationalist agitators that Ireland is heavily over-taxed.[1] It is hardly to be expected, therefore, that the Irish Parliament would attempt to impose taxes on land—the favourite quarry of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. The strength of the Nationalist Party lies in the agricultural districts, and any attempt to tax the land which the farmers have obtained under the Land Purchase scheme would be a suicidal policy for them to adopt.

There remains, it is true, the industrial district in the North-East, and the people of Ulster fear, not unnaturally, that the thriving condition of the linen and other industries would form a tempting bait for the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the Irish Parliament were mad enough to adopt the policy of taxing the industrial profits of the North of Ireland, so short-sighted a policy would be foredoomed to failure. When trade and manufactures are subjected

[1] In Ireland at the present time the rates of taxation are the same as in England, and would remain so under the Bill, subject to the limited power of alteration given to the Irish Parliament.

to attacks upon the mainsprings of their energy, they quickly disappear to other countries; but, inasmuch as Ulster has refused to submit to Home Rule, it is hardly necessary to consider the matter.

It is clear, therefore, that the Bill would set up an elaborate system of complicated machinery capable of producing only the minimum of revenue for the Irish Exchequer and the maximum of friction with the British Treasury.

Nor is this all. While the Irish Parliament are to have a free hand in spending Irish revenue, the British Government are to have the odium of collecting the taxes—no matter whether they are imposed by the Imperial Parliament or by the Irish Parliament.

A Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Primrose, was appointed by the Government prior to the drafting of the present Home Rule Bill to examine the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. The Committee issued an elaborate report embodying their recommendations, which has been published,[1] but the finance of the Bill proceeds on lines directly opposed to the recommendations of the Government's own Committee, and it is matter for comment that the Government have obstinately refused to publish the evidence upon which the report of the Committee is based.[2] The report covers twenty-eight folio pages and is too long to reproduce, but the keynote of the recommendations is contained in the following extract—

[1] Cd. 6153, 1912.

[2] Since the above was written the Government, as the result of continuous pressure, have consented to publish part of the evidence.

" It is a first principle of sound government that the same authority that has the spending of revenue should also have the burthen and not infrequently the odium of raising that revenue. That one should have the unpopular duty of providing the means and another the privilege of expending them is a division of labour that leads to disaster. . . The lesson which it is required to bring home to the individual Irishman in concrete and palpable form is that before any money can be expended by an Irish Government, he must first pay his share of that money in taxation. We believe that that lesson cannot be effectively taught if the Imperial Parliament retains the power of imposing or collecting taxes."

The Bill offends against both of these canons : the Irish Government will have sole control of the expenditure in the transferred services the bulk of the taxation will be imposed by the Imperial Parliament the whole of the collection of taxes will be undertaken by the Imperial Government. Mr. Redmond may consider that the dream of " Ireland a nation once again " will be realised by the passage of this Bill but his critics—and there are many in Ireland—will not be slow to discover that it is a quaint conception of truly national ideals that approves the imposition of the bulk of taxation and the collection of the whole of the taxes by an external authority.

Consider the well-known Nationalist doctrine that Ireland ought to be left free to govern herself and work out her own destiny in her own way. Can these proposals be said to offer any prospect of the growth

of that self-reliance which is the mainstay of the idealist Home Rule school ?

The Irish Government would be in receipt of a yearly grant from the British Government of fixed amount, which would form almost the sole source of revenue. The grant carries no obligation with it as to the way in which it shall be spent and whether Irish administration be good or bad, the money would still come in. Bad administration, especially in a country like Ireland, whose development is in its infancy, spells diminished prosperity and a consequent decrease in the revenue from taxes. Accordingly, if you provide that revenue shall come *aliunde*, and shall remain constant independently of the yield of taxation, you remove one of the chief incentives of the Irish Government to careful and economical administration. Nor does it end there. In the light of the history of the Nationalist Party good government under an Irish Parliament is unlikely but should this expectation be falsified and careful and prudent administration result, not one penny of the revenue arising from the increased yield of the bulk of the taxes in Ireland would go into the pockets of the Irish Treasury. According to the vicious principle of the Bill the Imperial Government would reap the whole of the benefit. In other words, the Imperial Government would undertake the risk of financing Ireland and collecting her taxes and stand to bear the risk of profit or loss on the transaction, accordingly as Ireland is well governed or badly governed by the Irish Parliament.

Such a state of things does not offer much

encouragement to the British taxpayer, who will have to guarantee the fixed annual payment to Ireland. It is admitted by the Government that at the outset the deficit will cost the British people £2,000,000. It should be borne in mind that the deficit does not appear in the Bill, but is based on the cost of governing Ireland at the time of the passing of the Act; while allowance must be made for the increasing cost of the Reserved Services.[1] Several financial experts incline to the belief that the annual loss to Great Britain would be nearer £3,000,000.[2] For this the British taxpayer would have the privilege of watching the Irish Government spend the money, without being able to control the objects or method of expenditure.

The frequent adjustment of financial questions between the British and Irish Treasuries, entailed by the complicated provisions of the Bill, is entrusted to the Joint Exchequer Board. The functions of this novel tribunal will involve decisions both in matters of legal interpretation and financial calculations; but the Board will also have to decide many matters turning entirely on questions of opinion to be deduced from the facts before them. *Quot homines tot sententiæ.*

Frequent comment was made in the debates, in both Houses, that no provision is made in the Bill as to the status or qualification of the members of this all-powerful tribunal, beyond the fact that two of the

[1] Old-Age Pensions are an exception. They will probably decrease.

[2] See Lord St. Aldwyn's speech in the *House of Lords Debate.*

five members are to be appointed by the Imperial Treasury, two by the Irish Treasury, and a Chairman appointed by His Majesty.

Inasmuch as it is a fundamental rule of the British Constitution that His Majesty acts upon the advice of His Ministers, this arrangement is tantamount to the appointment of three members by the British Government and two by the Irish Government, so that the British Government would be in a permanent majority on the Board—another "grievance" for Ireland.

There is not a word in the Bill as to the period of the appointment of the members of the Board, or by whom they are removable or on what grounds; to what salaries they shall be entitled, or by whom their salaries and expenses shall be borne. The people, both of Great Britain and Ireland, are surely entitled to some provision that only men of the highest integrity and the widest experience can be selected. There is not a word in the Bill to secure anything of the kind. It would be possible for the Irish Treasury to select as the two Irish nominees men without principle, honour, or knowledge. It is not suggested that such a scandal is probable, but when a new Constitution is being framed even remotely possible contingencies must be provided for. It is not disputed that the creation of the Board is without precedent and when it is reflected that it will be in the power of the members practically to settle the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, it would seem that such a proposal is contrary to modern ideas of democratic Government and involves a greater individual responsibility upon the members

than they could reasonably be expected to bear: in fact it calls to mind the Triumvirate of ancient Rome.

The importance and difficulty—one might almost say the impossibility—of the functions of the Board may be gathered from a consideration of some of the points which they will have to decide. What is the cost to the British Exchequer of Irish Services at the time of the passing of the Act—a most important point, for on it depends the amount of the annual grant to Ireland? What is true Irish Revenue: what is or is likely to be the cost of a Reserved Service which is about to be transferred: whether a tax imposed by the Irish Parliament is substantially the same as an Imperial tax: [1] whether it is a protective tax or not: whether the cost of collecting it is excessive: what are its proceeds as distinguished from the proceeds of an Imperial tax, of which it may form a part: whether it has caused a decrease in the yield of the Imperial tax: what is the loss to the Imperial Exchequer by the reduction or discontinuance of an Imperial tax by the Irish Parliament: and, lastly, when the true Irish Revenue exceeds the cost of Irish Services and in the opinion of the Board the time has arrived for revising the financial provisions of the Act? [2]

The above are some only of the complicated questions which the Board will have to decide. They are all questions of fact or opinions on matters of fact, and only on one of them is there a right of appeal.

[1] There is a right of appeal on this point to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council by leave of His Majesty.

[2] See speech of Lord St. Aldwyn, *House of Lords*, January 28th, 1913, col. 530.

The destination of enormous sums of money will be determined by the bare "yes" or "no" of the Board, whose word is final on the matter. Differences of opinion between the British and Irish members of the Board are inevitable; and where points of great importance are involved, it is idle to expect that either Parliament will accept the decision of the Board as conclusive. Pressure would be used to induce the Imperial Parliament to amend the decision by legislation, and the whole matter in dispute would be thrashed out again in the Parliaments at Dublin and at Westminster.

This brings us to the consideration of the real inducement to the Nationalist Party to accept the unworkable scheme of the Bill—the retention of forty-two Irish members at Westminster. There can be no doubt that the forty-two members would be used as a powerful lever by the Irish Parliament to extract further concessions from the British Treasury and Mr. Redmond is able to console his supporters with the reflection that the Irish members at Westminster, backed by the unanimous demand of the Dublin Parliament, would be able to compel amendments to the Home Rule Act whenever, owing to the equal balancing of parties at Westminster, the Irish members were in a position to turn the scale. The statement that, by granting Home Rule to Ireland by the present Bill, British politics will be relieved of the incubus of the Irish vote is untrue. The Irish vote, though reduced in numbers, would be backed by the powerful influence of the Irish Parliament and, as parties are balanced at present, would have a

controlling voice. Out of the forty-two Irish members, some thirty would be Nationalists. In the present Parliament, if these thirty voted with the Opposition, Mr. Asquith's Government would be in a majority of one,[1] which it need hardly be said would be insufficient for him to remain in office.

The retention of the Irish in the Imperial Parliament would only be justifiable as part of a Federal Parliament, having charge only of the common interests of the United Kingdom. To give the Irish a controlling voice in the management of the domestic affairs of England, Scotland, and Wales, and at the same time to set up an exclusively Irish Parliament in Dublin, is an inequitable arrangement, which it is impossible to justify. It may be argued that the total abandonment of Irish representation at Westminster tends to separation ; but as the whole scheme of a separate Irish Parliament and Executive savours of separation, the argument is insufficient to justify the interference of Irish members in the domestic legislation of Great Britain, with which after the grant of Home Rule they would have no concern.

Finally, we have to consider the extraordinary proposal in Clause 26 of the Bill for the re-casting of the entire financial scheme at some indefinite date in the future.

When in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board the total yield of revenue from Ireland—" true Irish

[1]

Liberal	264	British Unionists ..	262
Labour	41	Irish Unionists ..	42
	305		304

revenue "—exceeds during each of three years the total cost of Irish administration, a further contingent of Irish members will come to Westminster to assist in discussing the revision of the financial relations between the two countries, with the double purpose of (1) settling the contribution to be paid by Ireland towards Imperial expenditure ; (2) allowing the Irish Parliament greater freedom in the direction of taxation and collection of revenue. In this respect the Government has deliberately set out to do the very thing which its own advisers deprecate in the strongest terms.

The danger of the proposal is ably set out in the report of the Financial Relations Committee appointed by the Government, to which reference has already been made—

" In making arrangements for any new departure of a complicated kind, there is naturally a temptation to escape from the difficulty of solving embarrassing problems by postponing their solution to some future date. Under certain circumstances, there may be no other alternative ; and always there is the hope that increase of knowledge, or even the mere lapse of time, may eventually aid in the solution. But in this particular case it is certain that however great may be the difficulties encountered at the original settlement, those that will surround revision will be incomparably greater. At the original settlement there can be no parity of status between the parties to the contract. In fact, one of the two will not yet be in corporate existence. It will be merely represented by the individuals of whom it will eventually

be composed, and by those who sympathise with them. The other party will be in a position of such preponderating authority, that it will practically be able to dictate the terms on which the settlement must be accepted, or the whole enterprise be foregone. At the time of revision the position will be entirely changed. There will then be two parties, each fully clothed with a definite authority, constitutionally or legally conferred; and failure to reach agreement will not be susceptible of any such short method of solution as might be resorted to at the original settlement. It follows that it is extremely undesirable to leave open for future determination any questions of a kind that would demand settlement as a condition of the continued working on constitutional lines of the machinery set up in the first instance. It would be unwise, for example, to leave as a subject for revision some matter in respect of which the working of the original compact would be wholly arrested, unless the Irish Government could be compelled to take action in some direction, however little it might approve of the course proposed. By the Act constituting that Government, it can be restrained from action in specified directions, by depriving of legal validity any enactment of the Irish Parliament, or any proceeding of the Irish Government that is outside of, or contrary to, their defined powers. But there is no means, short of the employment of force in the last resort, by which an independent legislature or executive can be compelled to do something positive against its will."

In conclusion, there remains to be dealt with the

argument frequently put forward by Mr. Asquith and his colleagues that the grant of Home Rule to Ireland is necessary in order to relieve the Imperial Parliament of the congestion of Irish business. The above commentary on the provisions of the Bill is sufficient to demonstrate the fallacy of the argument. In the first place, the Reserved Services alone would require considerable discussion, while the disputes arising from the financial provisions would take up more time in the Imperial House of Commons than is now required for the whole of Irish business. Not only so, but every case of friction between Irish and English officials, every instance of abuse of authority by the Irish Executive, every alleged infraction of the rights of the Protestant minority, would come up for discussion at Westminster, and would be hotly contested by the ever present Nationalist Members.

In fact, the statement that the passing of the Home Rule Bill would relieve congestion at Westminster is so palpably false that it is unnecessary to examine it further.

As the above criticisms will doubtless be met by the answer that the Bill has received the approval of the House of Commons, it is desirable to consider the conditions under which it was debated.

The Bill was amended in several important particulars,[1] owing to the pressure of the Government's own supporters as well as of the Opposition.

[1] For instance, the popular election of members of the Senate has been substituted for the extraordinary proposal that they should be nominated by the Lord-Lieutenant acting on the advice of the Irish Cabinet. In the Bill, as amended, nomination is confined to the first Senate. Subsequent Senates are to be elected by the system of proportional representation. The remarks in this chapter of course apply to the Bill as amended.

The number of amendments which the Government themselves found it necessary to bring forward are a sufficient indication of the haste with which it was originally drafted. Limits of space prevent a detailed examination of the changes made in the measure during its passage through the House of Commons; but it is certain that much wider alterations would have been made, and possibly the unworkable character of the Bill demonstrated to such an extent that even the present machine-driven majority in the House of Commons would have refused to pass it, had it not been for the peculiar conditions under which it was discussed in Committee.[1] Under the

[1] For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the procedure of debate in the House of Commons, it may be explained that the debates on every public Bill consist of five stages—

(1) DEBATE ON MOTION FOR LEAVE TO INTRODUCE THE BILL. The House considers whether it is willing to consider the proposals in the Bill. If yea, the Bill is read a first time.

(2) DEBATE ON SECOND READING. The House considers the main principles of the Bill, and if they are approved, the Bill is read a second time.

(3) COMMITTEE STAGE. The House goes into Committee on the Bill, *i.e.*, the provisions of the Bill are examined clause by clause and line by line. This stage provides, or ought to provide, an opportunity of disclosing defects in the practical methods by which it is proposed to give effect to the principles approved on Second Reading, and if necessary of passing amendments. It need hardly be said that it frequently happens that a proposal—the principle of which has been approved in theory—is found to be unworkable when the practical details are examined.

(4) REPORT STAGE. The Bill is reconsidered as a whole in the light of the amendments passed in Committee and further amendments added if necessary.

(5) THIRD READING. The House having settled the details of the Bill, considers whether it should finally assent to it, and if so the Bill is read a third time and passed.

Every Bill must stand or fall upon a careful examination of its working details, and therefore it is obvious that the Committee Stage is the most important part of the proceedings. Full and

form of procedure known as the time-table guillotine, a fixed period of time—usually only a few hours—was set apart for each Clause or group of Clauses ; and as amendments are considered in the order of the words of the Bill after which they are to be inserted, it follows that many lines of the Bill and indeed many whole Clauses, were not discussed at all.[1]

The following details indicate the amount of discussion which Mr. Asquith's Government have thought sufficient for the settlement of the new Irish Constitution.

The Home Rule Bill as it left the House of Commons contained 51 Clauses.

The discussion of Clauses takes place in the Committee Stage and on Report. The cursory nature of the discussion may be gathered from the fact that only 5 Clauses [2] were wholly discussed either in Committee or on Report ; 24 Clauses were partly discussed.[3] On several of these, the discussion did not cover more than the first few lines ; 22 Clauses[4] were passed without a word of discussion either in Committee or on Report.

Making the calculation another way, the Bill as it left

unfettered opportunity should be given for the free discussion of every part of the measure.

As will be seen from the account in the following pages, these conditions have not been observed in the case of the Home Rule Bill.

[1] The power of the Chairman of Committee to select the amendments which he considers to be most important does not get over the difficulty that the allotted time was manifestly insufficient for the consideration of more than a few of the important points raised.

[2] Clauses 1, 37, 40, 42, and 44.

[3] Clauses 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 38, 43, 45, 46, 49.

[4] Clauses 6, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 39, 41, 47, 48, 50, 51.

the House of Commons contained 1,928 lines and the Schedules. Of these, only 305 lines were discussed either in Committee or on Report, while 1,623 lines were passed without any discussion at all.

The Schedules to the Bill (556 lines), which determine the distribution of seats for the Irish Parliament and for the forty-two Irish members who are to sit at Westminster, were passed without a word of discussion.

As will be seen from the numbered Clauses of the Bill in the Appendix, the following important provisions of the Bill were not discussed—

The subjects prohibited to the Irish Parliament, with one exception—"trade outside Ireland."

The Reserved Services, with the exception of Land Purchase.

The position of Irish Ministers.

The transfer of the Reserved Services, except the Royal Irish Constabulary.

The conditions respecting the power of the Lord-Lieutenant to withhold the Royal Assent.

Money Bills.

Privileges and qualifications of members of Irish Parliament.

The number of Irish at Westminster and how they should be elected.

Composition of Transferred Sum (except the amount representing the cost to Imperial Exchequer of Irish Services—item (*a*).

Taxing powers of the Irish Parliament, except the general power of altering Imperial taxes.

Conditions necessary to financial revision and the

manner in which Irish representatives should come to Westminster.

Conditions of office and retiring of existing Irish judges.

Power of concurrent legislation of Imperial Parliament.

Power to make Orders in Council adapting laws, dealing with transfer of Reserved Services, etc.

The distribution of seats for the Irish Parliament and the Irish at Westminster.

The haste with which the Bill was drafted and the lack of consideration given to it are apparent from the fact that the Government found it necessary to insert no less than 143 amendments during the progress of the measure through the House of Commons. The unreality of the proceedings may be gauged from the fact that only 16 of these were discussed, and that out of 1,054 amendments (omitting duplicates) proposed in the Committee Stage by the Opposition and by private members of the Government only 76 were discussed; while in the Report Stage, out of 778 of such amendments, all but 28 were swept aside by the closure and left unconsidered.

The Government were compelled to have recourse to this drastic form of closure for two reasons. In the first place, as explained in Chapter I, they are faced with the necessity of satisfying some at least of the demands of each of the various sections which make up their composite majority. This involves the consideration in one Session of Parliament of a greater number of highly controversial measures of first-class importance than can reasonably be discussed in the time

at the disposal of the House of Commons, after allowing for the ordinary work of Parliament in providing for the finance of the year and other necessary business.

In the second place, many of the Government's supporters are weak upon the Home Rule question. The majority on several occasions dropped far below its ordinary strength, and once the Government were actually defeated.[1]

Consequently the less opportunity that was given for disclosing the discrepancies of the Bill and demonstrating the unworkable nature of its provisions, the less likelihood of the more timid of their supporters being prompted by indignant public opinion to open revolt against the tyranny of the party machine.

It must be borne in mind that the present Bill is a feeble attempt at compromise between the Nationalist demand for a truly National Parliament with some semblance of independence and the refusal of the orthodox Liberal to agree to anything in the nature of separation. The Home Rule Bill is an attempt to reconcile two antagonistic points of view which are in their nature irreconcilable, and the result has been to produce a measure fantastic in theory and unworkable in practice. Probably no one is more aware of the impractical nature of the proposals than the authors of the Bill, but the business of the Government is to keep in office as long as possible. This they can only do by the aid of the Nationalist vote; and, therefore, being compelled to proceed with a Bill which they know to be rotten to the core, they have sought to curtail debate lest their supporters

[1] On the financial resolutions of the Home Rule Bill.

should be goaded into revolt by the widespread disclosure of its absurdities.

Indeed the drastic closure of the Home Rule Bill in Parliament is admirably consistent with the attitude of the Government at the time of the General Election when they abstained from stating their intention to introduce a Home Rule Bill until the election was half over, and even then declined to give any information of the contents of the proposed measure.[1]

In the Debate on the Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon, ex-Viceroy of India, aptly contrasted the indecent haste with which the Home Rule Bill was prepared and rushed through the House of Commons with the careful deliberations which attended the framing of the South African Constitution in 1909. The comparison is so just and so strictly relevant to the accusation, that the Government, by a combination of guile and *force majeure*, are attempting to force the Home Rule Bill into law against the wishes of the people of Great Britain, that I make no apology for quoting it in full—

"The noble Lord who preceded me suggested that this question might be settled, and could alone be settled, by the consultation and co-operation of all Parties. For our part, we are content to see Ireland advance on her career of increasing prosperity with the institutions which she at present enjoys; but if consultation and co-operation are desired, surely the last way in which to effect that result is to adopt the methods embodied in this Bill. Reference has been made again and again to the precedent of South

[1] See Chapter I.

Africa. I happened to be in South Africa when the South African Constitution was being drawn up. The circumstances were even more difficult than those of framing a Constitution for Ireland, because the two parties were not only separated by great differences of race, religion, and so on, but had been actually engaged in war. You may almost say that the hands of the people who met in conference had been imbrued in each other's blood. How was it done ? The four States elected their delegates and sent up their most important men. Those persons met in conference : first, in Durban ; next, in Cape Town ; and third, in Bloemfontein—the three capitals. They met without the embarrassing presence of the Press, and they discussed the matter in secret conclave. Between the sittings they met constantly, and I had the honour of meeting them and hearing them converse in private houses and elsewhere. Line by line, word by word, they went through the proposed Constitution. They did not approach the matter as antagonists ; they approached it as statesmen. Not a single man had any desire to revive old sores or to score off the other party. They wanted to build up a new Constitution in which all could join for the benefit of the country. Something is to be learned from that. Further, when the Constitution had been drawn up, it was submitted to the Parliaments of the various States concerned ; and in the case of one State—Natal—of whose adhesion there was some doubt, it was actually sent on referendum to the people.

" If you are constructing a new Constitution for a

country sundered by great differences, that is the method and those are the lines on which you ought to proceed. But they are not your lines. What you have done is, first of all, to conceal your Bill from the country at the last election ; then to conceal it from your own followers until it came before the House of Commons ; then to bring it before the House of Commons as an arrangement between yourselves and your Irish supporters ; then to use the closure and guillotine to carry it through the House of Commons ; then to use the impotence of this House to deprive us of any opportunity of dealing with it effectively ; and then to wait two years under your Parliament Act in order to force this one-sided Party solution upon the country." [1]

In the above observations on the scheme of the Bill it has been impossible to do more than briefly indicate the reasons why, apart from any question of the principle of a separate Parliament, the present measure is foredoomed to failure. An exhaustive criticism of its manifold inconsistencies and opportunities for friction would fill a volume.

The Bill is condemned alike by friends and opponents of Home Rule.[2] Its finance has been

[1] Earl Curzon, *House of Lords Debates*, January 30th, 1913, col. 755.

[2] The destructive criticisms of the Opposition in the House of Commons on the details of the measure—or such of them as it was possible to discuss in the limited time vouchsafed by the Government—to this day remain unanswered because they are unanswerable. Those who wish for the fullest information on the subject cannot do better than refer to the official report of the Debates on the Bill.

The second reading debate in the House of Lords affords a convenient summary of the defects of the measure.

Attention is particularly directed to the speeches of the Duke

condemned by the Nationalist General Council of County Councils; and has been described in the House of Commons by Mr. O'Brien, the leader of the Independent Nationalist Party, as "putrid." When it is presented a second time to the House of Commons, it cannot be amended, for any alteration would defeat the operation of the Parliament Act and make it impossible to pass it into law in the present Parliament without the consent of the House of Lords.[1] Whether in the course of the next twelve months its authors will be compelled, by the force of public opinion, to hurry the ill-starred measure into oblivion, or whether they will insist on passing it into law, remains to be seen.

Signs are not wanting that the Government are already weakening on the matter. Both Mr. Birrell [2] and Mr. Redmond have hinted at the possibility of a settlement by compromise; although they must know that as far as Ulster is concerned compromise is impossible. Is it too much to hope that this change of front will result in the abandonment of

of Devonshire, the Marquis of Zetland, Lord Midleton, and Lord Ashbourne (late Lord Chancellor of Ireland), and especially to the masterly exposure of the financial scheme of the Bill contained in the speech of Viscount St. Aldwyn (Sir M. Hicks-Beach), formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer. No less destructive is the criticism of those who are avowedly in favour of some form of Home Rule. See the speeches of Earl Grey (late Governor-General of Canada), Earl Dunraven (late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland), and the Archbishop of York.

The Lords' Debate is reported in *The Times* (London) for January 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st (1913).

[1] Under the terms of the Parliament Act the House of Commons may suggest amendments, but they have no power to enforce their acceptance by the House of Lords.

[2] At Warrington. See *The Times*, February 17th, 1913.

a Bill which pleases nobody? If the Bill is persisted in, two things are certain: There will be civil war in Ulster, and an end to public confidence, security, and credit throughout the rest of Ireland.

APPENDIX A

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL

Arrangement of Clauses

Legislative Authority.

Clause.
1. Establishment of Irish Parliament.
2. Legislative powers of Irish Parliament.
3. Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality, etc.

Executive Authority.

4. Executive power in Ireland.
5. Future transfer of certain reserved services.

Irish Parliament.

6. Summoning, &c., of Irish Parliament.
7. Royal Assent to Bills of Irish Parliament.
8. Composition of Irish Senate.
9. Composition of Irish House of Commons.
10. Money Bills.
11. Disagreement between two Houses of Irish Parliament.
12. Privileges, qualifications, &c., of Members of Irish Parliament.

Irish Representation in the House of Commons.

13. Representation of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.

Finance.

14. Irish revenue and expenditure.
15. Powers of Irish Parliament with respect to taxation.
16. Relations between Great Britain and Ireland as respects Customs and Excise duties.
17. Supplemental provisions as to Transferred Sum and Irish revenue.
18. Charge on Transferred Sum of sums charged on the Guarantee Fund.
19. Development fund and road improvement grant.
20. Irish Church Fund.
21. Supplemental provisions as to Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund.
22. Joint Exchequer Board.
23. Charge of Irish Government loans on Transferred Sum and management by Joint Exchequer Board.
24. Ascertainment of true Irish revenue.

CLAUSE.
25. Alteration of taxes to be treated as increases or reductions of taxes as the case may be.
26. Revision of financial arrangements in certain events.

Provisions as to Judicial Power.

27. Tenure of office by judges.
28. Irish appeals.
29. Special provision for decision of constitutional questions.
30. Appeal in cases where the validity of an Irish law is questioned.

Lord Lieutenant.

31. Office of Lord Lieutenant.

Provisions as to Existing Judges and Irish Officers.

32. Provisions as to existing judges and other persons having salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund.
33. Continuation of service of, and compensation to, existing officers.
34. Establishment of Civil Service Committee.
35. Provisions as to existing pensions and superannuation allowances.
36. Definition of Irish officer, and provision as to officers in whose case questions may arise, &c.

Provisions as to Members of Police.

37. Continuation of service of, and compensation to, members of police forces.

General.

38. Continuation of existing laws, institutions, &c.
39. Use of Crown lands by Irish Government.
40. Arrangements between departments of United Kingdom and Irish departments for exercise of powers and duties.
41. Current legislation.
42. Special provisions as to Dublin University, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Queen's University of Belfast.
43. Special provisions as to Freemasons.
44. Repeal of s. 16 of 21 & 22 Geo. 3. c. 11. Irish.
45. First election of reduced number of Irish members and application of election laws.
46. Temporary provision as to payments into and out of the Irish exchequer.
47. Power to make Irish Transfer Orders in Council.
48. Irish Transfer Orders to be laid before Parliament.
49. Commencement of Act and appointed day.

Supplemental.

50. Definitions.
51. Short title.

SCHEDULES.

A BILL

INTITULED

AN ACT TO AMEND THE PROVISION FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows—

Legislative Authority.

1.—(1) On and after the appointed day there shall be in Ireland an Irish Parliament consisting of His Majesty the King and two Houses, namely, the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons.

(2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland and every part thereof.

2. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Irish Parliament shall have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland with the following limitations, namely, that they shall not have power to make laws except in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland or some part thereof, and (without prejudice to that general limitation) that they shall not have power to make laws in respect of the following matters in particular, or any of them, namely—

(1) The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency, or the property of the Crown (including foreshore) or the Lord Lieutenant except as respects the exercise of his executive power in relation to Irish services as defined for the purposes of this Act; or

(2) The making of peace or war or matters arising from a state of war; or the regulation of the conduct of any portion of His Majesty's subjects during the existence of hostilities between Foreign States with which His Majesty is at peace, in relation to those hostilities; or

(3) The navy, the army, the territorial force, or any other naval or military force, or the defence of the realm, or any other naval or military matter; or

(4) Treaties, or any relations, with Foreign States, or relations with other parts of His Majesty's dominions, or matters involving the contravention of treaties or agreements with foreign states or any part of His Majesty's dominions, or offences connected with any such treaties or relations, or procedure connected with the extradition of criminals under any treaty, or the return of fugitive offenders from or to any part of His Majesty's dominions; or

(5) Dignities or titles of honour; or

(6) Treason, treason felony, alienage, naturalisation, or aliens as such, or domicile; or

(7) Trade with any place out of Ireland (except so far as trade may be affected by the exercise of the powers of taxation given to the Irish Parliament, or by the regulation of importation for the sole purpose of preventing contagious disease, or by steps taken, by means of inquiries or agencies out of Ireland, for the improvement of Irish trade or for the protection of Irish traders from fraud); the granting of bounties on the export of goods; quarantine; or navigation, including merchant shipping (except as respects inland waters, the regulations of harbours, and local health regulations); or

(8) Any postal services and the rates of charge therefor (except postal communication between one place in Ireland and another such place, and any other postal service which is executed completely in Ireland); designs for stamps, whether for postal or revenue purposes; or

(9) Lighthouses, buoys, or beacons (except so far as they can consistently with any general Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority); or

(10) Coinage; legal tender; or any change in the standard of weights and measures; or

(11) Trade marks, designs, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights; or

(12) Any of the following matters (in this Act referred to as reserved matters), namely—

(*a*) The general subject-matter of the Acts relating to Land Purchase in Ireland, the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, the National Insurance Act, 1911, and the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909;

(*b*) The collection of taxes;

(*c*) The Royal Irish Constabulary and the management and control of that force;

(*d*) Post Office Savings Banks, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies; and

(*e*) Public loans made in Ireland before the passing of this Act;

Provided that the limitation on the powers of the Irish Parliament under this section shall cease as respects any such reserved matter if the corresponding reserved service is transferred to the Irish Government under the provisions of this Act:

Any law made in contravention of the limitations imposed by this section shall, so far as it contravenes those limitations, be void.

3. In the exercise of their power to make laws under this Act the Irish Parliament shall not make a law so as either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give a preference, privilege, or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage, on account of religious

belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at that school, or alter the constitution of any religious body except where the alteration is approved on behalf of the religious body by the governing body thereof, or divert from any religious denomination the fabric of cathedral churches or, except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water, or drainage works, or other works of public utility upon payment of compensation, any other property.

Any law made in contravention of the restrictions imposed by this section shall, so far as it contravenes those restrictions, be void.

Executive Authority.

4.—(1) The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in His Majesty the King, and nothing in this Act shall affect the exercise of that power except as respects Irish services as defined for the purposes of this Act.

(2) As respects those Irish services the Lord Lieutenant or other chief executive officer or officers for the time being appointed in his place, on behalf of His Majesty, shall exercise any prerogative or other executive power of His Majesty the exercise of which may be delegated to him by His Majesty.

(3) The power so delegated shall be exercised through such Irish Departments as may be established by Irish Act or, subject to any alteration by Irish Act, by the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Lieutenant may appoint officers to administer those Departments, and those officers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant.

(4) The persons who are for the time being heads of such Irish Departments as may be determined by Irish Act or, in the absence of any such determination, by the Lord Lieutenant, and such other persons (if any) as the Lord Lieutenant may appoint, shall be the Irish Ministers.

Provided that—

(*a*) No such person shall be an Irish Minister unless he is a member of the Privy Council of Ireland; and

(*b*) No such person shall hold office as an Irish Minister for a longer period than six months, unless he is or becomes a member of one of the Houses of the Irish Parliament; and

(*c*) Any such person not being the head of an Irish Department shall hold office as an Irish Minister during the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant in the same manner as the head of an Irish Department holds his office.

(5) The persons who are Irish Ministers for the time being shall be an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland (in this Act referred to as the "Executive Committee"), to aid and

advise the Lord Lieutenant in the exercise of his executive power in relation to Irish services.

(6) In the exercise of powers delegated to the Lord Lieutenant in pursuance of this section no preference, privilege, or advantage shall be given to, nor shall any disability or disadvantage be imposed on, any person on account of religious belief, except where the nature of the case in which the power is exercised itself involves the giving of such preference, privilege, or advantage, or the imposing of such a disability or disadvantage.

(7) For the purposes of this Act, " Irish services " are all public services in connection with the administration of the civil government of Ireland except the administration of matters with respect to which the Irish Parliament have no power to make laws, including in the exception all public services in connexion with the administration of the reserved matters (in this Act referred to as " reserved services ").

5.—(1) The public services in connexion with the administration of the Acts relating to the Royal Irish Constabulary and the management and control of that force, shall by virtue of this Act be transferred from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Irish Government on the expiration of a period of six years from the appointed day and those public services shall then cease to be reserved services and become Irish services.

(2) If a resolution is passed by both Houses of the Irish Parliament providing for the transfer from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Irish Government of the following reserved services, namely—

(*a*) All public services in connexion with the administration of the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911 ; or

(*b*) All public services in connexion with the administration of Part I of the National Insurance Act, 1911 ; or

(*c*) All public services in connexion with the administration of Part II of the National Insurance Act, 1911, and the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909 ; or

(*d*) All public services in connexion with the administration of Post Office Savings Banks, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies ;

the public services to which the resolution relates shall be transferred accordingly as from a date fixed by the resolution, being a date not less than a year after the date on which the resolution is passed, and shall on the transfer taking effect cease to be reserved services and become Irish services :

Provided that this provision shall not take effect as respects the transfer of the services in connexion with Post Office Savings Banks, Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies until the expiration of ten years from the appointed day.

(3) On any transfer under or by virtue of this section, the general provisions of this Act (so far as applicable) and the provisions of

this Act as to existing Irish officers shall apply with respect to the transfer, with the substitution of the date of the transfer for the appointed day or the date of the passing of this Act.

Irish Parliament.

6.—(1) There shall be a session of the Irish Parliament once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Parliament in one session and their first sitting in the next session.

(2) The Lord Lieutenant shall, in His Majesty's name, summon, prorogue, and dissolve the Irish Parliament.

7. The Lord Lieutenant shall give or withhold the assent of His Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, subject to the following limitations; namely—

(1) He shall comply with any instructions given by His Majesty in respect of any such Bill; and

(2) He shall, if so directed by His Majesty, postpone giving the assent of His Majesty to any such Bill presented to him for assent for such period as His Majesty may direct.

8.—(1) The Irish Senate shall consist of forty senators nominated as respects the first senators by the Lord Lieutenant subject to any instructions given by His Majesty in respect of the nomination, and afterwards elected by the four provinces of Ireland as separate constituencies in the number stated in the Third Part of the First Schedule to this Act.

(2) The election of senators shall be according to the principle of proportional representation, the electors being the same electors as the electors of members returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and each elector having one transferable vote.

His Majesty may by Order in Council frame regulations prescribing the method of voting at elections of senators and of transferring and counting votes at such an election and the mode of appointment and duties of returning officers in connexion therewith, and any such regulations shall have effect as if they were enacted in this Act.

(3) The term of office of every senator shall be five years, and shall not be affected by a dissolution; the senators, at the end of their term of office, shall retire all together, and their seats shall be filled by a new election.

(4) If the place of a senator becomes vacant before the expiration of his term of office, the Lord Lieutenant shall, unless the place becomes vacant not more than six months before the expiration of that term of office, cause a writ to be issued for electing a senator in the stead of the senator whose place is vacant, if that senator was an elected senator, and if he was a nominated senator nominate a senator in his place, but any senator so elected or nominated to

fill a vacancy shall hold office only so long as the senator in whose stead he is elected or nominated would have held office.

9.—(1) The Irish House of Commons shall consist of one hundred and sixty-four members, returned by the constituencies in Ireland named in the First Part of the First Schedule to this Act in accordance with that Schedule, and elected by the same electors and in the same manner as members returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

(2) In any constituency which returns three or more members the election shall be held on the principle of proportional representation and each elector shall have one transferable vote.

(3) The Irish House of Commons when summoned shall, unless sooner dissolved, have continuance for five years from the day on which the summons directs the House to meet and no longer.

(4) After three years from the day of the first meeting of the Irish Parliament, the Irish Parliament may alter, as respects the Irish House of Commons, the qualification and registration of the electors, the law relating to elections and the questioning of elections, the constituencies, and the distribution of the members of the House among the constituencies, provided that in any new distribution the number of the members of the House shall not be altered, and due regard shall be had to the population of the constituencies other than University constituencies.

10.—(1) Bills appropriating revenue or money, or imposing taxation shall originate only in the Irish House of Commons, but a Bill shall not be taken to appropriate revenue or money, or to impose taxation by reason only of its containing provisions for the imposition or appropriation of fines or other pecuniary penalties, or for the payment or appropriation of fees for licences or fees for services under the Bill.

(2) The Irish House of Commons shall not adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or Bill for the appropriation for any purpose of any part of the public revenue of Ireland or of any tax, except in pursuance of a recommendation from the Lord Lieutenant in the session in which the vote, resolution, address, or Bill is proposed.

(3) The Irish Senate may not reject any Bill which deals only with the imposition of taxation or appropriation of revenue or money for the services of the Irish Government, and may not amend any Bill so far as the Bill imposes taxation or appropriates revenue or money for the services of the Irish Government, and the Irish Senate may not amend any Bill so as to increase any proposed charges or burden on the people. This provision shall apply to the failure in any session to pass a Money Bill which has been sent up to the Irish Senate at least one month before the end of the session as it applies to the actual rejection of such a Bill.

(4) Any Bill which appropriates revenue or money for the ordinary annual services of the Irish Government shall deal only with that appropriation.

11.—(1) If the Irish House of Commons pass any public Bill which is sent up to the Irish Senate at least one month before the end of the session and the Irish Senate reject or fail to pass it, or pass it with amendments to which the Irish House of Commons will not agree, and if the Irish House of Commons in the next session again pass the Bill with or without any amendments which have been made or agreed to by the Irish Senate, and the Irish Senate reject or fail to pass it, or pass it with amendments to which the Irish House of Commons will not agree, the Lord Lieutenant may during that session convene a joint sitting of the members of the two Houses.

(2) The members present at any such joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the Bill as last proposed by the Irish House of Commons, and upon the amendments (if any) which have been made therein by the one House and not agreed to by the other; and any such amendments which are affirmed by a majority of the total number of members of the two Houses present at the sitting shall be taken to have been carried.

(3) If the Bill with the amendments (if any) so taken to have been carried is affirmed by a majority of the total number of members of the two Houses present at any such sitting, it shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses.

(4) This section shall apply, with the necessary modifications, in the case of the failure of the Irish Senate to pass a resolution providing for a transfer from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Irish Government of a reserved service when the Irish House of Commons have passed such a resolution, as it applies to the failure of the Irish Senate to pass a Bill which has been passed by the Irish House of Commons.

12.—(1) The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Irish Senate and of the Irish House of Commons, and of the members and of the committees of the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons, shall be such as may be defined by Irish Act, but so that they shall never exceed those for the time being held and enjoyed by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and its members and committees, and, until so defined, shall be those held and enjoyed by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and its members and committees at the date of the passing of this Act.

(2) The law, as for the time being in force, relating to the qualification and disqualification of members of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the taking of any oath required to be taken by a member of that House, shall apply to members of the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons.

(3) Any peer, whether of the United Kingdom, Great Britain, England, Scotland, or Ireland, shall be qualified to be a member of either House.

(4) A member of either House shall be incapable of being nominated

or elected, or of sitting, as a member of the other House, but an Irish Minister who is a member of either House shall have the right to sit and speak in both Houses, but shall vote only in the House of which he is a member.

(5) A member of either House may resign his seat by giving notice of resignation to the person and in the manner directed by standing orders of the House, or if there is no such direction, by notice in writing of resignation sent to the Lord Lieutenant, and his seat shall become vacant on notice of resignation being given.

(6) The powers of either House shall not be affected by any vacancy therein, or by any defect in the nomination, election, or qualification, of any member thereof.

(7) His Majesty may by Order in Council declare that the holders of the offices in the Irish Executive named in the Order shall not be disqualified for being members of either House of the Irish Parliament by reason of holding office under the Crown, and except as otherwise provided by Irish Act, the Order shall have effect as if it were enacted in this Act, but on acceptance of any such office the seat of any such person in the Irish House of Commons shall be vacated unless he has accepted the office in succession to some other of the said offices.

Irish Representation in the House of Commons.

13. Unless and until the Parliament of the United Kingdom otherwise determine, the following provisions shall have effect:—

(1) After the day of the first meeting of the Irish Parliament the number of members to be returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall be forty-two and the constituencies returning those members shall (in lieu of the existing constituencies) be the constituencies named in the second Part of the First Schedule to this Act, and no University in Ireland shall return a member to the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

(2) The election laws and the laws relating to the qualification of parliamentary electors shall not, so far as they relate to elections of members returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, be altered by the Irish Parliament, but this enactment shall not prevent the Irish Parliament from dealing with any officers concerned with the issue of writs of election, and if any officers are so dealt with, it shall be lawful for His Majesty by Order in Council to arrange for the issue of any such writs, and the writs issued in pursuance of the Order shall be of the same effect as if issued in manner heretofore accustomed.

Finance.

14.—(1) There shall be an Irish Exchequer and an Irish Consolidated Fund separate from those of the United Kingdom.

(2) The proceeds of all taxes levied in Ireland, whether under the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom or of the Irish Parliament, shall be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, but subject as hereinafter provided, there shall be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or the growing produce thereof in each year to the Irish Exchequer a sum (in this Act referred to as " the Transferred Sum ") consisting of—

(*a*) such sum as may be determined by the Joint Exchequer Board established under this Act (hereinafter referred to as the Joint Exchequer Board) to represent the net cost to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom at the time of the passing of this Act of Irish services ; and

(*b*) a sum of five hundred thousand pounds, diminishing in each year after the third year of payment by the sum of fifty thousand pounds until it is reduced to the sum of two hundred thousand pounds ; and

(*c*) a sum equal to the proceeds as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board of any Irish taxes imposed in Ireland by the Irish Parliament under the powers given to them by this Act.

(3) Provision shall be made by the Irish Parliament for the cost of Irish services within the meaning of this Act, and except as provided by this Act, any charge on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom for those services, including any charge for the benefit of the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account, or any grant or contribution out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom so far as made for those services shall cease, and money for loans in Ireland shall cease to be advanced either by the Public Works Loans Commissioners or out of the Local Loans Fund.

15.—(1) The Irish Parliament shall have power to vary (either by way of addition, reduction, or discontinuance) any Imperial tax so far as respects the levy of that tax in Ireland, and to impose in Ireland any independent tax not being in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board substantially the same in character as an Imperial tax, subject to the following limitations :—

(*a*) The Irish Parliament shall not have power to impose or charge a Customs duty, whether an import or an export duty, on any article unless that article is for the time being liable to a Customs duty of a like character levied as an Imperial tax, and shall not have power to vary, except by way of addition, any Customs duty levied as an Imperial tax, or any Excise duty so levied where there is a corresponding Customs duty ; and

(*b*) The benefit to accrue to the Irish Exchequer from any addition to any Customs duty levied as an Imperial tax (other than a Customs duty on beer or spirits), or to any duty of income tax so levied, or to any death duty so levied, shall be limited as in this Act provided ; and

(*c*) The power of the Irish Parliament to vary an Imperial tax, so far as income tax (not including super-tax) is concerned, shall only be exercised so as to alter the conditions under which any exemption, abatement, or relief from the tax may be granted to persons resident in Ireland without varying the rate of the tax, and, so far as any customs duty or any death duty is concerned, shall only be exercised so as to vary the rate of the duty without otherwise altering the provisions with respect to the duty, or discriminating in that variation between persons, articles, or property, and where the duty is one of two or more correlated duties, or is a duty levied at a varying rate, shall not be exercised without varying proportionately all the correlated duties or all the rates of duty; and

(*d*) The Irish Parliament shall not so vary a death duty as to impose the duty on the personal property (not being a leaseholder's or tenant's interest in land) of any person domiciled in Great Britain; and

(*e*) The power of the Irish Parliament to vary an Imperial tax shall not be exercised with respect to the stamp duties mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act; and

(*f*) The Irish Parliament shall not, in the exercise of their powers of taxation under this provision, make any variation of Customs or Excise duties the effect of which will be, in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board, to cause the Customs duty on an article of a class produced, prepared, or manufactured in Ireland, to exceed the Excise duty by more than an amount reasonably sufficient to cover any expenses due to revenue restrictions, or any variation of Customs or Excise drawbacks or allowances which would cause the amount of drawback or allowance payable in respect of any article to be more than reasonably sufficient, in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board, to cover the duty paid thereon, and any expenses due to revenue restrictions;

and the power of the Irish Parliament to make laws includes a power to make laws for the purpose of giving effect to their powers of taxation under this Act.

(2) For the purposes of this Act—

(*a*) The expression "Imperial tax" means any tax charged for the time being in Ireland under the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and includes a tax which has been discontinued under the powers given by this section to the Irish Parliament, but which would have been so charged but for the discontinuance;

(*b*) The expression "Irish tax" means any tax charged under the authority of the Irish Parliament either by way of an addition to an Imperial tax or as an independent tax.

16.—(1) Any articles which are brought into Great Britain from Ireland or into Ireland from Great Britain shall be deemed to be articles exported or imported for the purposes of the forms to be

used and the information to be furnished under the Customs Consolidation Act, 1876, and section four of the Revenue Act, 1909, and for the purpose of any duty or drawback payable in the circumstances for which provision is made under this section, but not for any other purpose.

(2) When a Customs duty is levied in one country and not in the other, or is levied in both countries but at a higher rate in the one country than in the other, duty shall be charged and drawback allowed in respect of articles being articles produced, prepared, or manufactured abroad as follows :—

(*a*) The Customs duty shall be charged on any such articles brought into the one country from the other country as if they were articles imported from abroad, except that in the case of articles produced abroad but manufactured or prepared in the country from which they are sent, the Customs duty charged shall, if the drawback which would be allowed on the exportation of similar articles from the country into which the articles are brought is less than the duty payable on importation, be a duty equal to the drawback, and if the duty is payable in respect of any such articles on delivery from bond, after manufacture or preparation in bond, a duty equal to that which would have been paid under similar circumstances in respect of the same article in the country into which the article is brought ; and

(*b*) A drawback shall be allowed on any such articles sent from the one country into the other equal to the drawback which would be allowed upon the exportation of the articles from the country from which they are sent.

(3) Where an Excise duty is levied in one country and not in the other, or is levied in both countries but at a higher rate in the one country than in the other, duty shall be charged and drawback allowed in respect of articles being articles produced, prepared or manufactured in either country as follows :—

(*a*) A Customs duty shall be charged on any such articles brought into the one country from the other country as if they were articles imported from abroad, equal to the amount of the Excise duty levied on similar articles in the country into which they are brought, or if there is no such Excise duty in the country from which the articles are sent, a duty equal to the drawback allowed on the exportation of similar articles manufactured or prepared in the country into which the article is brought or, if there is no such drawback, equal to the Customs duty payable on the importation of a similar article into the country into which the article is brought ; and

(*b*) A drawback shall be allowed on any such articles sent from the one country into the other equal to the amount of the Excise duty levied in the country from which they are sent in cases where a drawback would be allowed on the exportation of the articles from that country or, if no Excise duty is levied in the

country into which the articles are sent, equal to the drawback allowed on exportation.

The Excise duty on a licence granted to a manufacturer of any article, the amount of which varies either directly or indirectly according to the amount of the article manufactured, shall be treated for the purposes of this subsection as an Excise duty on the article manufactured.

(4) The proceeds of any Customs duty charged under this section in Ireland on any article shall to the extent to which they exceed the proceeds of the Customs or Excise duty which would have been charged on the article in Great Britain be deemed to be the proceeds of a Customs duty levied as an Irish tax, if the duty is charged in respect of a difference of Customs duties, and be deemed to be the proceeds of an Excise duty levied as an Irish tax if the duty is charged in respect of a difference of Excise duties, and as to the balance be deemed to be the proceeds of an Imperial tax.

(5) Nothing in this section shall affect any enactment under which articles deposited in a bonded warehouse without payment of duty may be transferred from one country to the other country.

17.—(1) The Transferred Sum shall be paid to the Irish Exchequer at such times and in such manner and according to such regulations as the Joint Exchequer Board may direct.

(2) In the event of the reduction or discontinuance of any Imperial tax by the Irish Parliament, the Transferred Sum shall be reduced in each year by such sum as may be determined by the Joint Exchequer Board to represent the amount by which the proceeds of the tax are diminished in that year in consequence of the reduction or discontinuance.

(3) If in any financial year the proceeds of any Irish tax imposed as an addition to any Customs duty levied as an Imperial tax (other than a Customs duty on beer or spirits), or to any duty of Income Tax so levied, or to any death duty so levied, exceed one-tenth of the proceeds in Ireland of that duty as levied as an Imperial tax for the same period, the amount of the excess shall not be treated for the purposes of this Act as part of the proceeds of the Irish tax, and the amount payable to the Irish Exchequer in respect of the proceeds of the Irish tax shall be reduced accordingly :

Provided that—

(*a*) For the purposes of this provision, the proceeds of any tax shall be deemed to be the proceeds as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board ; and

(*b*) The foregoing provision shall not apply so far as the excess is solely due to the reduction of the rate of the Imperial tax.

(4) When an Imperial tax has been varied by the Irish Parliament, the Joint Exchequer Board, in determining for the purpose of this Act the proceeds in Ireland of the Irish tax in the case of a variation by tax of addition, or the amount by which the proceeds of the Imperial tax are diminished in the case of a variation by way

of reduction or discontinuance, shall consider what the amount of the proceeds in Ireland of the Imperial tax would have been if the variation had not been made, and in the case of a variation by way of addition shall treat any excess over that amount as the proceeds of the Irish tax, and in the case of a variation by way of reduction or discontinuance shall treat any deficiency below that amount as the amount by which the proceeds of the Imperial tax have been diminished by reason of the reduction or discontinuance.

If in a case of variation by way of addition it is found that there is a deficiency below instead of an excess over the amount which would have been, in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board, the proceeds in Ireland of the Imperial tax if the variation had not been made, the amount of that deficiency shall be deducted from the Transferred Sum in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(5) Where an independent tax is imposed by the Irish Parliament, the Joint Exchequer Board shall in each year lay before the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom a report as to the yield and cost of collection of the tax, and if that House pass a resolution declaring that the additional expense caused to the United Kingdom Exchequer by the cost of the collection of the tax is excessive compared with the yield of the tax, and that the whole or any specified part of the cost of collection of the tax should be deducted from the Transferred Sum, an amount equal to the whole or the specified part of the cost of collection shall be deducted from the Transferred Sum accordingly in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(6) When any reserved service is transferred from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Government of Ireland, the Transferred Sum shall be increased by such sum as may be determined by the Joint Exchequer Board to represent the equivalent of any saving to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom by reason of the transfer, and in determining that equivalent regard shall be had to the prospect of any increase or decrease in the cost of that service which may be expected to arise from causes not being matters of administration.

The sum by which the Transferred Sum is to be increased in pursuance of this provision may be fixed by the Joint Exchequer Board so as to vary during the first ten years after the transfer, but subject thereto shall be a definite sum.

18.—(1) The charge on the Guarantee Fund under the Irish Land Purchase Acts in respect of—

(*a*) sums which owing to the deficiency of the Irish Land Purchase Account, are paid out of the Consolidated Fund on account of the dividends and sinking fund payments of Irish guaranteed land stock under section one of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891 ; and

(*b*) sums which, owing to the deficiency of the income of the

Irish Land Purchase Fund, are paid out of the Consolidated Fund on account of the dividends on stock under section twenty-nine of the Irish Land Act, 1903;

(*c*) arrears of annual payments under subsection (4) of section thirty-six of the Irish Land Act, 1903;

shall cease, and any such sums or arrears which would under the Irish Land Purchase Acts have been made good out of the Guarantee Fund (not being sums or arrears on account of a deficiency in respect of the issue of stock, or bills, or bonds, at a discount or in respect of interest or sinking fund which, under section seven of the Irish Land Act, 1909, are a charge on that portion of the Ireland Development Grant which forms part of the cash portion of the Guarantee Fund), shall be made good by means of deductions from the Transferred Sum under this Act in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(2) In determining the amount representing the net cost to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom at the time of the passing of this Act of Irish services, the Joint Exchequer Board shall treat the whole of the death duty grant payable under section nineteen of the Finance Act, 1894, and of the Exchequer contribution payable under section five of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, and of the agricultural grant payable under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, as part of that cost, without taking into account any diminution of those grants owing to their being included in the Guarantee Fund.

19.—(1) Nothing in this Act shall affect the powers of the Treasury or the Development Commissioners or the Road Board with respect to Ireland under the Development and Road Improvement Funds Act, 1909, and for the purposes of that Act any Irish department shall be deemed to be a Government department within the meaning of that Act.

(2) So long as a sum equal to the net proceeds of the duties on motor spirits and the net proceeds of the duties on licences for motor cars levied in Ireland is paid as part of the road improvement grant under section ninety of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, the proceeds of those duties shall not be treated for the purposes of the financial provisions of this Act as the proceeds of an Imperial tax levied in Ireland, nor shall the Irish Parliament have power to vary those duties.

20.—(1) The Irish Church Temporalities Fund shall belong to the Irish Government and be managed, administered, and disposed of as directed by Irish Act:

Provided that all existing charges on that fund shall, if and so far as not paid, be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and be made good by means of deductions from the Transferred Sum under this Act in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(2) The Irish Church Temporalities Fund means the fund under

the control of the Land Commission by virtue of the Irish Church Act Amendment Act, 1881.

21.—(1) All sums paid into the Irish Exchequer shall form a Consolidated Fund, and be appropriated to the public service of Ireland by Irish Act, and shall not be applied for any purpose for which they are not so appropriated.

(2) Save as may be otherwise provided by Irish Act, the existing law relating to the Exchequer and Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall apply with the necessary modifications to the Irish Exchequer and the Irish Consolidated Fund, and an officer shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to be the Irish Comptroller and Auditor-General.

(3) Save as may be otherwise provided by Irish Act, the accounts of the Irish Consolidated Fund shall be audited as Appropriation Accounts, in manner provided by the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act, 1866, and any Act amending the same, by or under the direction of the Irish Comptroller and Auditor-General.

22.—(1) For the purposes of the financial provisions of this Act there shall be established a Board to be called the Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members appointed by the Treasury and two members appointed by the Irish Treasury and a Chairman appointed by His Majesty.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Joint Exchequer Board to determine any matter which is to be determined by the Board under this Act, or in pursuance of any Irish Transfer Order in Council made under this Act, and also to determine any other matter in connexion with the Transferred Sum, or Irish revenue or expenditure, or the cost of any reserved service, which may be referred to them for determination by the Treasury and the Irish Treasury jointly, and, subject to the provisions of this Act as to appeals from decisions of the Board, the decision of the Board on any matter which is to be determined by them shall be final and conclusive.

(3) Any vacancy arising in the office of a member of the Board shall be filled by the authority by whom the member whose place is vacant was appointed.

(4) The Board may act by a majority; the quorum at any meeting of the Board shall be three; subject to the provisions of this Act the Board may regulate their own procedure.

23.—(1) If provision is made by Irish Act for securing any loan raised by the Government of Ireland upon the Transferred Sum and for the payment of such part of the Transferred Sum as in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board may be required for the services of the loan in each year direct to that Board, the Board may undertake on behalf of the Irish Government the issue and management of the loan and the application of the money paid to them for the services of the loan.

(2) Where provision is so made for the payment of a part of the Transferred Sum to the Joint Exchequer Board in connexion with

a loan the management of which is undertaken by the Board in accordance with this section, the Treasury shall cause the requisite part of the Transferred Sum to be paid to the Joint Exchequer Board instead of to the Irish Exchequer.

(3) The accounts of the Joint Exchequer Board in respect of any sums received by them under this section in connexion with any loan shall be audited in the same manner as the accounts of the Irish Consolidated Fund are for the time being audited.

(4) Any stock or securities issued in respect of any loan raised by the Irish Government shall be deemed to be included amongst the securities in which a trustee may invest under the powers of the Trustee Act, 1893, or of the Trusts (Scotland) Acts, 1861 to 1910.

24. In ascertaining for the purposes of this Act the proceeds in Ireland of any Imperial tax or of any Irish tax, the Joint Exchequer Board shall treat the proceeds collected in Ireland as the proceeds of the tax in Ireland, subject to such adjustments as the Board think equitable, with a view to attributing to Ireland any proceeds of taxes collected in Great Britain but properly attributable to Ireland, and to attributing to Great Britain any proceeds of taxes collected in Ireland but properly attributable to Great Britain, and with a view to meeting cases where the rate of a tax is, or other conditions affecting the charge of a tax are, different in Great Britain and Ireland.

25. For the purposes of this Act the withdrawal in whole or in part of an exemption from a tax shall be treated as the imposition of an addition to or as the increase of a tax, and the grant or extension of an exemption from a tax shall be treated as a reduction of a tax, and any other alteration of the provisions with respect to any tax in consequence of which the proceeds of the tax are increased or diminished shall be treated as an increase or reduction of the tax, as the case may be.

26.—(1) If it appears to the Joint Exchequer Board that during any three successive years after the passing of this Act, the aggregate of the total proceeds of Imperial taxes in Ireland as determined by the Board, and the total proceeds of Irish taxes and any other money available in the year for the payment of the cost of Irish services, as so determined, together with any share in any miscellaneous revenue of the United Kingdom to which the Joint Exchequer Board may consider Ireland to be entitled, exceeded in each of those years the total cost of Irish services, together with the cost of any services which are for the time being reserved services, the Board shall present a report to that effect to the Treasury and to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Treasury and the Lord Lieutenant shall cause a copy of the report to be laid before the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Irish Parliament respectively.

(2) The presentation of such a report shall be taken to be a ground for the revision by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of the financial provisions of this Act, with a view to securing a proper

contribution from Irish revenues towards the common expenditure of the United Kingdom and extending the powers of the Irish Parliament and the Irish Government with respect to the imposition and collection of taxes.

(3) For the purpose of revising the financial provisions of this Act in pursuance of this section, there shall be summoned to the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom such number of members of the Irish House of Commons as will make the representation of Ireland in the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom equivalent to the representation of Great Britain on the basis of population ; and the members of the Irish House of Commons so summoned shall be deemed to be members of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom for the purposes of any such revision.

(4) His Majesty may by Order in Council make such provision for summoning and selecting in pursuance of this provision the members of the Irish House of Commons as His Majesty may think necessary or proper, and any provisions contained in any such Order in Council shall have the same effect as if they had been enacted in this Act.

An Order in Council made under this provision shall be laid before the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom within forty days next after it is made if that House is then sitting or, if not, within forty days after the commencement of the then next ensuing session ; and if an address is presented to His Majesty by that House within the next twenty-one days on which that House has sat next after the Order is laid before it praying that the Order may be annulled, His Majesty may thereupon by Order in Council annul the same, and the Order so annulled shall forthwith become void, but without prejudice to the validity of any proceedings which may in the meantime have been taken under the Order.

Provisions as to Judicial Power.

27. A judge of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland, or of any county court or other court with a like jurisdiction in Ireland, appointed after the appointed day shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and shall hold his office by the same tenure as that by which the office is held at the time of the passing of this Act, with the substitution of an address from both Houses of the Irish Parliament for an address from both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and during his continuance in office his salary shall not be diminished or his right to pension altered without his consent.

28.—(1) The appeal from courts in Ireland to the House of Lords shall cease ; and where any person would, but for this Act, have a right to appeal from any court in Ireland to the House of Lords, that person shall have the like right to appeal to His Majesty

the King in Council; and all enactments relating to appeals to His Majesty the King in Council, and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, shall apply accordingly.

(2) When the Judicial Committee sit for hearing any appeal from a court in Ireland in pursuance of any provisions of this Act, there shall be present not less than four Lords of Appeal, within the meaning of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, and at least one member who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court in Ireland.

(3) A rota of privy counsellors to sit for hearing appeals from courts in Ireland shall be made annually by His Majesty in Council, and the privy counsellors, or some of them, on that rota shall sit to hear the said appeals. A casual vacancy occurring in the rota during the year may be filled by Order in Council.

(4) Any person who is aggrieved by any decision of the Court of Appeal in any proceedings taken by way of certiorari, mandamus, quo warranto, or prohibition, shall have a right to appeal to His Majesty the King in Council in the same manner as if he had such a right to appeal to the House of Lords before the passing of this Act.

(5) Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to determine the claims to Irish peerages.

29.—(1) If it appears to the Lord Lieutenant or a Secretary of State expedient in the public interest that steps shall be taken for the speedy determination of the question whether any Irish Act or any provision thereof, or any Irish Bill or any provision thereof, is beyond the powers of the Irish Parliament, or whether any service is an Irish service within the meaning of this Act or not, or if the Joint Exchequer Board, or any two members of the Board, in the execution of their duties under this Act, are desirous of obtaining the decision of any question of the interpretation of this Act, or other question of law, which arises in connexion with those duties, the Lord Lieutenant, Secretary of State, or Board, or members thereof, as the case may be, may represent the same to His Majesty in Council, and thereupon, if His Majesty so directs, the said question shall be forthwith referred to and heard and determined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, constituted as if hearing an appeal from a court in Ireland.

(2) Upon the hearing of the question such persons as seem to the Judicial Committee to be interested may be allowed to appear and be heard as parties to the case, and the decision of the Judicial Committee shall be given in like manner as if it were the decision of an appeal, the nature of the report or recommendation to His Majesty being stated in open court.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall prejudice any other power of His Majesty in Council to refer any question to the Judicial Committee or the right of any person to petition His Majesty for such reference.

30.—(1) Where any decision of the Court of Appeal in Ireland

involves the decision of any question as to the validity of any law made by the Irish Parliament, and the decision is not otherwise subject to an appeal to His Majesty the King in Council, an appeal shall lie to His Majesty the King in Council by virtue of this section, but only by leave of the Court of Appeal or His Majesty.

(2) Where any decision of a court in Ireland involves the decision of any question as to the validity of any law made by the Irish Parliament, and the decision is not subject to any appeal to the Court of Appeal in Ireland, an appeal shall lie to the Court of Appeal in Ireland by virtue of this section.

(3) If any person is dissatisfied with the decision of the Joint Exchequer Board on the question whether a tax is an independent tax not substantially the same in character as an Imperial tax, that person may petition His Majesty in Council to refer the question to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and, if His Majesty so direct, the question shall be referred to and heard and determined by that Committee as if hearing an appeal from a court in Ireland; and the determination of the Judicial Committee on the question shall have effect with respect to the question decided as if it were the decision of the Joint Exchequer Board.

If any decision of the Joint Exchequer Board under this Act involves a decision with respect to any question of law, any person may petition His Majesty in Council to refer the question of law to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and, if His Majesty so directs, the question of law shall be referred to and heard and determined by that Committee constituted as if hearing an appeal from a court in Ireland; and if the Judicial Committee determine that the point of law has been erroneously decided by the Joint Exchequer Board, they shall report their determination to His Majesty, and, on such a report being made, the Joint Exchequer Board shall reconsider their decision with regard to the determination of the Judicial Committee.

Upon the hearing of any question referred under this subsection, such persons as seem to the Judicial Committee to be interested may be allowed to appear and be heard as parties to the case, and the decision of the Judicial Committee shall be given in like manner as if it were a decision of an appeal, the nature of the report or recommendation to His Majesty being stated in open court.

A petition shall not be entertained under this subsection unless it is presented within six months after the date on which the decision of the Joint Exchequer Board to which the petition relates has been published.

Lord Lieutenant.

31.—(1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act, no subject of His Majesty shall be disqualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on account of his religious belief.

(2) The term of office of the Lord Lieutenant shall be six years,

without prejudice to the power of His Majesty at any time to revoke the appointment, and with the intent that the continuance in office of the Lord Lieutenant shall not be affected by any change of ministry.

(3) The salary and expenses of the Lord Lieutenant shall be paid out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but there shall be deducted from the Transferred Sum in each year towards the payment of the Lord Lieutenant's salary, a sum of five thousand pounds.

Provisions as to existing Judges and Irish Officers.

32.—(1) All existing judges of the Supreme Court, and county court judges, and all existing Irish officers serving in an established capacity in the civil service of the Crown and receiving salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, shall, if at the date of the passing of this Act they are removable only on address from both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom, continue to be removable only upon such an address, and if removable in any other manner shall continue to be removable only in the same manner as before that date; and shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to enjoy the same rights and privileges, and be liable to perform the same duties as before that date or such duties as His Majesty may declare to be analogous, and their salaries and pensions shall be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or the growing produce thereof, and all sums so paid shall be made good by means of deductions from the Transferred Sum under this Act in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(2) If any of the said judges or officers retires from office with His Majesty's approbation before completion of the period of service entitling him to a pension, His Majesty may, if he thinks fit, after considering any representation that may be made by the Irish Government, grant to him such pension, not exceeding the pension to which he would on that completion have been entitled as His Majesty thinks proper.

(3) Subsection (1) of this section shall apply to existing Irish officers in the civil service of the Crown, who, although receiving salaries not charged on the Consolidated Fund, are removable only for misconduct or incapacity, including officers removable under section seventy-three of the Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877: Provided that, in the case of any such officer whose salary is payable otherwise than out of money provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the provisions of that subsection with respect to the payment of salaries and pensions out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall not have effect, and in the case of any such officer whose salary is payable out of money provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom those provisions shall have effect with the substitution of payment

out of money so provided for charge on and payment out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

33.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, all existing Irish officers in the civil service of the Crown who are not provided for under the last preceding section and are on the appointed day serving as Irish officers shall, after that day, continue to hold their offices by the same tenure and upon the same terms and conditions (including conditions as to salaries and superannuation) as theretofore and shall be liable to perform the same duties as theretofore, or such duties as the Civil Service Committee established under this Act may determine to be analogous, and while performing the same or analogous duties shall receive not less salaries than they would have received if this Act had not passed :

Provided that notwithstanding the provision hereinbefore contained as to the tenure of existing Irish officers any existing Irish officer who at the time of the passing of this Act is removable from his office by His Majesty, or by the Chief Secretary, or by any person other than the Lord Lieutenant, or in any special manner, may be removed from his office after the appointed day by the Lord Lieutenant, but, in the case of the existing permanent members of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, only by an order of the Lord Lieutenant, which shall be laid before each House of the Irish Parliament, and if an address is presented to the Lord Lieutenant by either of those Houses within the next subsequent forty days on which that House has sat after any such order is laid before it praying that the order may be annulled, the Lord Lieutenant may annul the order, and it shall thenceforth be void.

(2) The Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1909, shall continue after the appointed day to apply to any such existing Irish officer to whom they then apply, and the service of any such officer under the Irish Government shall, for the purpose of those Acts, be deemed to be service in the permanent civil service of the Crown and in a public office within the meaning of the Superannuation Act, 1892 :

Provided that so far as relates to the grant and ascertainment of the amount of any allowance or gratuity under those Acts as respects any such officer who at the time of his ultimate retirement is serving under the Irish Government, the Civil Service Committee shall be substituted for the Treasury.

(3) The provisions as to compensation contained in the Third Schedule to this Act shall apply with respect to any such existing Irish officer.

(4) The superannuation and other allowances and gratuities which may become payable after the appointed day to existing Irish officers in the civil service of the Crown under the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1909, and any compensation payable to any such officers under the provisions of this Act, shall be paid out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but any sums so paid shall be made good by means of deductions from the

Transferred Sum under this Act in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(5) Where any existing Irish officer in the civil service of the Crown to whom the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1909, do not apply is on the appointed day serving as an Irish officer in a capacity which, in accordance with a condition of his employment, qualifies him for a superannuation allowance or gratuity payable otherwise than under those Acts, that condition shall after the appointed day have effect, subject to the following modifications, that is to say, any superannuation allowance or gratuity which may become payable to the officer in accordance with that condition after the appointed day shall, if and so far as the fund out of which such allowances and gratuities are payable at the time of the passing of this Act is by reason of anything done or omitted after the passing of this Act not available for its payment, be charged upon and paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, and any powers and duties of the Treasury as to the grant or ascertainment of the amount of the superannuation allowance or gratuity, or otherwise in connexion with the condition, shall be exercised and performed by the Civil Service Committee.

(6) The Pensions Commutation Acts, 1871 to 1882, shall apply to any person to whom an annual allowance is granted in pursuance of the provisions of this Act relating to existing officers as they apply to a person who has retired in consequence of the abolition of his office, and any terminable annuity payable in respect of the commutation of an allowance shall be payable out of the same funds as the allowance.

34.—(1) For the purpose of the provisions of this Act with respect to existing officers there shall be established a committee to be called the Civil Service Committee.

(2) The committee shall consist of three members, of whom one shall be appointed by the Treasury, one by the Executive Committee, and one (who shall be chairman) by the Lord Chief Justice of England.

(3) Any vacancy arising in the committee shall be filled by the authority by whom the member whose place is vacant was appointed.

(4) The committee may act by any two members, and, subject to the provisions of this Act, the committee may regulate their own procedure.

(5) The determination of the Civil Service Committee on any claim or question which is to be determined by them under the provisions of this Act relating to existing officers shall be final and conclusive.

35.—(1) Any pension granted on account of service in Ireland as a judge of the Supreme Court or of any court consolidated into that court, or as a county court judge, or as an Irish officer in an established capacity in the civil service of the Crown, or to any officer or constable of the Dublin Metropolitan Police or Royal Irish Constabulary, and payable on the appointed day, or in the

case of an officer or constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary at the date of transfer, shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or the growing produce thereof, if charged on that fund at the time of the passing of this Act, and out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom if so paid at that time, and shall be made good by means of deductions from the Transferred Sum under this Act in accordance with regulations made by the Treasury.

(2) Any pension payable on the appointed day and granted on account of service in Ireland as an Irish officer in the civil service of the Crown not serving in an established capacity or as a petty sessions clerk or officer in the registry of petty sessions clerks shall, if and so far as the fund out of which it is payable at the time of the passing of this Act is by reason of anything done or omitted after the passing of this Act not available for its payment, be charged upon and paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund.

36.—(1) For the purpose of the provisions of this Act relating to existing officers, any officer shall be deemed to be an Irish officer who is serving or employed in Irish services within the meaning of this Act, and the fact that the salary of an Irish officer is provided in whole or in part out of funds administered by the Government Department in which he serves, or out of an allowance voted for the office expenses of the office in which he is employed, or out of fees, instead of being charged on the Consolidated Fund or paid out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall not prevent that officer being treated as an officer in the civil service of the Crown.

(2) If any question arises whether an officer is an Irish officer as so defined, or otherwise as to any claim or right of an officer under the provisions of this Act relating to existing officers, that question shall be determined by the Civil Service Committee.

(3) If in any case the Civil Service Committee are of opinion that the service or employment of an officer is such that he is partly an Irish officer and partly not, that Committee shall determine any question which arises as respects the proportions in which any allowance, gratuity, or compensation payable to that officer is to be paid as between the Exchequer or Consolidated Fund of Ireland and of the United Kingdom respectively.

Provisions as to Members of Police.

37.—(1) All officers and constables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and of the Royal Irish Constabulary who are serving on the day of transfer shall after that day continue to serve on the same terms and conditions as theretofore, and shall be liable to perform the same duties as theretofore, and while so serving shall not receive less salaries than they would have received if this Act had not passed.

(2) Any existing enactments relating to the pay or pensions of

officers and constables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and Royal Irish Constabulary shall continue to apply after the transfer to any officer and constable serving on the day of transfer with the substitution of the Lord Lieutenant for the Treasury and for the Chief Commissioner or Inspector-General as the case requires.

(3) Where any such officer or constable, being qualified under the enactments aforesaid to retire on pension for length of service on or before the day of transfer, continues to serve after that day he shall, on retiring at any subsequent time, be entitled to receive a pension not less in amount than that to which he would have been entitled if he had retired on that day, and his right to receive such pension shall not, while he continues to serve, be liable to forfeiture, except in cases in which a pension when granted is liable to forfeiture under those enactments.

(4) The provisions as to compensation contained in the Fourth Schedule to this Act shall apply with respect to the officers and constables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and of the Royal Irish Constabulary who are serving on the day of transfer.

(5) Any pensions and other allowances and gratuities which may become payable to officers and constables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police after the appointed day or to officers and constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary after the day of transfer (being in either case officers and constables who are serving on the day of transfer) under the existing enactments applicable to them, and any compensation payable to any of those persons under the provisions of this Act, shall be paid out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom ; but any sums so paid shall be made good by means of deductions from the Transferred Sum under this Act in accordance with the regulations made by the Treasury.

(6) The Pensions Commutation Acts, 1871 to 1882, shall apply to any member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police or Royal Irish Constabulary to whom an allowance is granted in pursuance of the provisions of this section in like manner as if he had retired from the permanent Civil Service of the Crown on the abolition of his office, and any terminable annuity payable in respect of the commutation of an allowance shall be payable out of the same funds as the allowance.

(7) In this section and in the Fourth Schedule to this Act the expression " day of transfer " in relation to the Dublin Metropolitan Police means the appointed day, and in relation to the Royal Irish Constabulary means the day on which the control and management of that force are transferred to the Irish Government.

General.

38. All existing laws, institutions, and authorities in Ireland, whether judicial, administrative, or ministerial, and all existing taxes in Ireland, shall, except as otherwise provided by this Act, continue as if this Act had not passed, but with the modifications

necessary for adapting them to this Act, and subject, as respects matters within the powers of the Irish Parliament under this Act, to repeal, abolition, alteration, and adaptation in the manner and to the extent authorised by this Act.

39. His Majesty the King in Council may place under the control of the Irish Government, for the purposes of that government, such of the lands, buildings, and property in Ireland vested in or held in trust for His Majesty, and subject to such conditions or restrictions (if any) as may seem expedient.

40. Arrangements may be made by any department of the Government of the United Kingdom for the exercise and performance on behalf of that department of any powers or duties of that department by officers of an Irish department, or by any Irish department for the exercise and performance on behalf of that department of any powers or duties of that department by officers of a department of the Government of the United Kingdom on such terms and conditions as may be agreed :

Provided that no such arrangements shall diminish in any respect the responsibility of the department by which the arrangement is made.

41.—(1) The Irish Parliament shall not have power to repeal or alter any provision of this Act (except as is specially provided by this Act), or of any Act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom after the passing of this Act and extending to Ireland, although that provision deals with a matter with respect to which the Irish Parliament have powers to make laws.

(2) Where any Act of the Irish Parliament deals with any matter with respect to which the Irish Parliament have power to make laws which is dealt with by any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the passing of this Act and extending to Ireland, the Act of the Irish Parliament shall be read subject to the Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and so far as it is repugnant to that Act, but no further, shall be void :

Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the power of the Irish Parliament to vary an Imperial tax in accordance with this Act, or any variation so made.

(3) Any order, rule, or regulation made in pursuance of, or having the force of, an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom shall be deemed to be a provision of an Act within the meaning of this section.

42. No law made by the Irish Parliament shall have effect so as to alter the constitution, or divert the property of, or repeal or diminish any existing exemption or immunity enjoyed by the University of Dublin, or Trinity College, Dublin, or the Queen's University of Belfast, unless and until the proposed alteration, diversion, repeal, or diminution is approved, in the case of the University of Dublin, or Trinity College, Dublin, by a majority of those present and voting at a meeting of each of the following bodies

convened for the purpose, namely: (*a*) the governing body of the College, and (*b*) the junior fellows and professors voting together, and (*c*) the University Council, and (*d*) the Senate; and in the case of the Queen's University of Belfast by a majority of those present and voting at a meeting of each of the following bodies convened for the purpose, namely: (*a*) the Senate, and (*b*) the Academic Council, and (*c*) the Convocation of the University:
Provided that—

(*a*) This section shall not apply to the taking of property (not being land in the occupation of or used in connexion with the College or either of the Universities) for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water, or drainage works, or other works of public utility upon payment of compensation; and

(*b*) There shall be paid annually, out of moneys provided by the Irish Parliament to the Queen's University of Belfast, a sum of eighteen thousand pounds for the general purposes of the University, and that sum if and so far as not so paid shall be deducted on the order of the Joint Exchequer Board from the Transferred Sum and paid into the University; and

(*c*) Until the Joint Exchequer Board certify that the amount standing to the credit of the account of Trinity College under section thirty-nine of the Irish Land Act, 1903, is adequate to afford the indemnity for which provision is made by that section, there shall be paid annually out of moneys provided by the Irish Parliament the sum of five thousand pounds to that account; and that sum, if and so far as not so paid, shall be deducted on the order of the Joint Exchequer Board from the Transferred Sum and paid to that account.

43.—(1) It is hereby declared that existing enactments relative to unlawful oaths or unlawful assemblies in Ireland do not apply to the meetings or proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland, or of any lodge or society recognised by that Grand Lodge:

(2) The Irish Parliament shall not have power to abrogate or affect prejudicially any privilege or exemption of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Ireland, or any lodge or society recognised by that Grand Lodge which is enjoyed either by law or custom at the time of the passing of this Act, and any law made in contravention of this provision shall, so far as it is in contravention of this provision, be void.

44. The powers conferred in the sixteenth section of the Act passed by the Irish Parliament in the session held in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of the reign of George the Third, chapter eleven, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the liberty of the subject," shall not be exercised, and that section is hereby repealed.

45.—(1) Upon the first meeting of the Irish Parliament, the members returned by constituencies in Ireland to serve in the Parliament

of the United Kingdom and then sitting in that Parliament shall vacate their seats, and writs shall, as soon as conveniently may be, be issued by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland for the purpose of holding an election of members to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom for the constituencies mentioned in the Second part of the First Schedule to this Act.

(2) All existing election laws relating to the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom and the members thereof shall, so far as applicable and subject to the provisions of this Act, and especially to any provision enabling the Irish Parliament to alter those laws as respects the Irish House of Commons, extend to the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons and the members thereof.

His Majesty may by Order in Council make such provisions as may appear to him necessary or proper for making any provisions of the election laws applicable to elections of members of the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons, and also frame regulations prescribing the method of voting at an election of members of the Irish House of Commons, which is held on the principle of proportional representation, and of transferring and counting votes at such an election.

46. (1) Pending the determination of the Transferred Sum by the Joint Exchequer Board for the first year in which the Transferred Sum is to be paid, the Treasury may make such payments on account of that sum into the Irish Exchequer as the Joint Exchequer Board may direct.

(2) The Joint Exchequer Board may authorise the Lord Lieutenant to make such payments from the Irish Exchequer as may be necessary in order to provide for bringing this Act into operation, but no such authority shall be given after the expiration of a period of three months from the first meeting of the Irish Parliament.

47. His Majesty may by Orders in Council (in this Act referred to as Irish Transfer Orders) make such regulations as seem necessary or proper for setting in motion the Irish Parliament and Government, and also for any other matter for which it seems to His Majesty necessary or proper to make provision for the purpose of bringing this Act into full operation or for giving full effect to any provisions of this Act or to any future transfer under or by virtue of this Act of a reserved service ; and in particular His Majesty may by any such Order in Council—

(*a*) Make such adaptations of any enactments so far as they relate to Ireland as may appear to him necessary or proper in order to give effect to the provisions of this Act, and also make any adaptations of any enactments so far as they relate to England or Scotland, as may appear to him necessary or proper as a consequence of any change effected by the provisions of this Act ; and

(*b*) Make such adaptation of any enactments as appear to him necessary or proper with respect to the execution of the reserved services, and in particular provide for the exercise or performance

of any powers or duties in connexion with those services by any department of the Government of the United Kingdom or officer of that Government where any such powers or duties are, under any existing Act, to be exercised or performed by any department in Ireland which will cease to exist as a department of the Government of the United Kingdom ; and

(*c*) Make regulations with respect to the relations of the Irish and British Post Offices, and in particular may provide for an apportionment of the capital liabilities of the Post Office between the Irish Exchequer and the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, for the execution of postal services by the one Post Office at the request of and on behalf of the other, and for the terms and conditions under which the services are to be so executed, for facilities being given in connexion with any such postal services at the request of one Post Office by the other, for requiring the sanction of the British Post Office for the grant of any licence by the Irish Post Office for wireless telegraphy stations for internal communications in Ireland, and for the reservation of power to His Majesty by Order in Council to transfer in time of war or national emergency the powers or duties of the Irish Post Office to the British Post Office, or to the naval or military authorities of the United Kingdom ; and

(*d*) On any transfer under this Act of the public services in connexion with the administration of the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, make provision for securing the payment of an old age pension to any person who is entitled to the payment of such a pension at the time of the transfer, while he continues so entitled ; and

(*e*) On the transfer under this Act of public services in connexion with Post Office Savings Banks, or Trustee Savings Banks, make provisions for giving a depositor in any transferred Post Office Savings Bank the right to repayment of any sums due to him in respect of his deposits at the time of the transfer, and for giving the trustees of any Trustee Savings Bank in Ireland the right to close their bank and to require repayment of all sums due to them from the National Debt Commissioners, and for securing to the holder of any annuity or policy of insurance granted before the date of the transfer by a Post Office or Trustee Savings Bank the payment of the annuity or of any sums due under the policy ; and

(*f*) Make provision with respect to the transfer and apportionment of any property, rights, and liabilities in connexion with Irish services, and for the proper reductions being made in the payment of the Transferred Sum for the first year in which it is paid in respect of any part of that year during which any Irish service is not executed by the Irish Government ; and

(*g*) Provide, in cases where the same Act deals with reserved matters and with other matters, for specifying the matters dealt with by the Act which are to be treated in accordance with this Act as reserved matters.

48.—(1) Any Irish Transfer Order in Council made under this Act shall be laid before both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom within forty days next after it is made if Parliament is then sitting, or if not, within forty days after the commencement of the then next ensuing session; and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either of those Houses within the next subsequent twenty-one days on which that House has sat next after any such order is laid before it praying that any such Order may be annulled, His Majesty may thereupon by Order in Council annul the same, and the Order so annulled shall forthwith become void, but without prejudice to the validity of any proceedings which may in the meantime have been taken under the Order.

(2) Any Irish Transfer Order in Council made under this Act shall, subject to the foregoing provisions of this section, have effect as if enacted in this Act.

49. This Act shall, except as expressly provided, come into operation on the appointed day, and the appointed day for the purposes of this Act shall be the first Tuesday in the eighth month after the month in which this Act is passed, or such other day not more than seven months earlier or later, as may be fixed by Order of His Majesty in Council either generally or with reference to any particular provision of this Act, and different days may be appointed for different purposes and different provisions of this Act, but the Irish Parliament shall be summoned to meet not later than four months after the said Tuesday, and the appointed day for holding elections for the Irish House of Commons shall be fixed accordingly.

Supplemental.

50. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires—

The expression "existing" means existing at the passing of this Act:

The expression "constituency" means a parliamentary constituency, or a county, borough, or university returning a member or members to serve in the Irish House of Commons as the case requires, and the expression "parliamentary constituency" means any county, borough, or university returning a member or members to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

The expression "parliamentary elector" means a person entitled to be registered as a voter at a parliamentary election:

The expression "parliamentary election" means the election of a member to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

The expression "election laws" means the laws relating to the election of members to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, other than those relating to the qualification of electors, and includes all the laws respecting the registration of electors, the issue and execution of writs, the creation of polling districts, the taking of the poll, the questioning of elections, corrupt and illegal practices, the oath, qualification and disqualification of members, and the vacating of seats;

The expression "tax" includes duties (other than duties of postage) and fees (other than fees which are charged in respect of any special Irish service, and the receipts from which are, in the opinion of the Joint Exchequer Board, of a character to be properly treated as appropriation in aid):

For the purposes of this Act duties on a raw material and on articles produced, prepared, or manufactured from that material, and any group of duties fixed in relation to some common basis, shall be deemed to be correlated duties.

The levy of an Imperial tax in Ireland includes, where the variation of the tax by the Irish Parliament affects persons resident or domiciled in Ireland, or the property of any person so resident or domiciled, the levy of the tax on or in respect of such persons or such property.

The expression "postal service" includes any telegraphic and telephonic service, and the issue, transmission, and payment of Post Office money orders and postal orders; and the expression "postal communication" includes telegraphic and telephonic communication:

The expression "Irish Act" means a law made by the Irish Parliament:

The expression "Irish Treasury" means the Irish department or officer, by whatever name called, for the time being entrusted with the administration of Irish finance:

The expression "salary" includes remuneration, allowances, and emoluments:

The expression "pension" includes superannuation allowance, and in relation to a constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary or Dublin Metropolitan Police includes a pension or gratuity payable to the widow or children of a constable:

The expression "office" includes any place, situation, or employment, and the expression "officer" shall be construed accordingly:

The expression "officer" in relation to the Royal Irish Constabulary includes the Inspector-General, the Deputy-Inspector-General, an Assistant-Inspector-General, the Assistant-Inspector-General-Commandant of the Depôt, the Town Inspector at Belfast, a County Inspector, a surgeon, a storekeeper and barrack-master, the veterinary surgeon, and a district inspector, and in relation to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, includes the Chief Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner:

The expression "constable" in relation to the Royal Irish Constabulary includes the head-constable-major, a head-constable, sergeant, acting sergeant, and constable; and in relation to the Dublin Metropolitan Police includes every member of that force not being of higher rank than chief superintendent, and not being a member of the clerical staff only:

The expression "Royal Irish Constabulary" includes the reserve force of that body.

51. This Act may be cited as the Government of Ireland Act, 1912.

SCHEDULES

FIRST SCHEDULE.

PART I.

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CONSTITUENCIES AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

Boroughs.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Dublin :	
College Green	3
Harbour	3
St. Stephen's Green	2
St. Patrick's	3
Belfast :	
East	5
South	3
West	2
North	4
Londonderry	2
Cork	4
Limerick	2
Waterford	1
Total (Boroughs)	34

Counties.

ULSTER.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Antrim County:	
North Antrim	2
Mid Antrim	2
East Antrim	2
South Antrim	2
Armagh County:	
North Armagh	2
Mid Armagh	1
South Armagh (including that part of Newry which is situated in Armagh County).	
Cavan County:	
West Cavan	2
East Cavan	2
Donegal County:	
North Donegal	2
West Donegal	2
East Donegal	1
South Donegal	2
Down County:	
North Down	2
East Down	2
West Down	2
South Down (including that part of Newry which is situated in Down County).	
Fermanagh County:	
North Fermanagh	1
South Fermanagh	1
Londonderry County:	
North Londonderry	2
South Londonderry	2
Monaghan County:	
North Monaghan	1
South Monaghan	1
Tyrone County:	
North Tyrone	1
Mid Tyrone	1
East Tyrone	1
South Tyrone	1
Totals (Ulster Counties)	43

LEINSTER.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Carlow County	1
Dublin County:	
North Dublin	3
South Dublin	3
Kildare County:	
North Kildare	1
South Kildare	1
Kilkenny County:	
North Kilkenny (including the borough of Kilkenny)	2
South Kilkenny	1
King's County:	
Birr	1
Tullamore	1
Longford County:	
North Longford	1
South Longford	1
Louth County:	
North Louth	1
South Louth	1
Meath County:	
North Meath	1
South Meath	1
Queen's County:	
Ossory	1
Leix	1
Westmeath County:	
North Westmeath	1
South Westmeath	1
Wexford County:	
North Wexford	2
South Wexford	2
Wicklow County:	
West Wicklow	1
East Wicklow	1
Totals (Leinster Counties)	30

MUNSTER.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Clare County:	
East Clare	2
West Clare	2
Cork County:	
North Cork	2
North-East Cork	2
Mid Cork	2
East Cork	2
West Cork	1
South Cork	1
South-East Cork	1
Kerry County:	
North Kerry	1
West Kerry	2
South Kerry	1
East Kerry	1
Limerick County:	
West Limerick	2
East Limerick	2
Tipperary County:	
North Tipperary	1
Mid Tipperary	1
South Tipperary	1
East Tipperary	1
Waterford County:	
West Waterford	1
East Waterford	1
Totals (Munster Counties)	30

CONNAUGHT.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Galway County:	
Connemara	2
North Galway	2
East Galway	2
South Galway (including the borough of Galway)	2
Leitrim County:	
North Leitrim	1
South Leitrim	1
Mayo County:	
North Mayo	2
West Mayo	2
East Mayo	2
South Mayo	2
Roscommon County:	
North Roscommon	2
South Roscommon	2
Sligo County:	
North Sligo	2
South Sligo	1
Totals (Connaught Counties)	25

UNIVERSITIES.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Dublin University	2

TOTAL OF BOROUGH, COUNTY AND UNIVERSITY MEMBERS:—

Borough members	34
County members	128
University members	2
Total members	164

Part II.

Representation of Ireland in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.

Constituencies and Number of Members.

Boroughs.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Dublin	3
Belfast	4
Cork	1
Total (Boroughs)	8

Counties.

Ulster.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Antrim	2
Armagh (including that part of Newry which is situated in Armagh County)	1
Cavan	1
Donegal, Fermanagh	2
Londonderry (including the borough of Londonderry)	1
Monaghan, Tyrone	2
Down (including that part of Newry which is situated in Down County)	2
Totals (Ulster Counties)	11

Leinster.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Dublin	2
King's County, Queen's County	1
Kildare, Wicklow	1
Wexford	1
Carlow, Kilkenny (including Borough of Kilkenny)	1
Longford, Westmeath	1
Louth, Meath	1
Totals (Leinster Counties)	8

MUNSTER.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Clare	1
East Limerick Borough of Limerick	1
Kerry West Limerick	2
Cork, East Cork, North-east Waterford, West	1
The remaining five Divisions of Cork	2
Tipperary, East Waterford, East Borough of Waterford	1
The remaining three Divisions of Tipperary	1
Totals (Munster Counties)	9

CONNAUGHT.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
Galway (including Galway Borough)	2
North Mayo West Mayo	1
South Mayo South Roscommon	1
East Mayo Sligo	1
Leitrim North Roscommon	1
Totals (Connaught Counties)	6

TOTAL OF BOROUGH AND COUNTY MEMBERS:—

Borough members	8
County members	34
Total members	42

PART III.

ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Constituency.	Number of Members.
The Province of Ulster . . .	14
„ „ Leinster . . .	11
„ „ Munster . . .	9
„ „ Connaught . .	6
Total . . .	40

SECOND SCHEDULE.

STAMP DUTIES WHICH MAY NOT BE ALTERED BY THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

Duties on the following instruments :—

Marketable securities.

Share warrants and stock certificates to bearer (including instruments to bearer on which duty is charged by virtue of subsection (2) of section four or section five or section six of the Finance Act, 1899).

Transfers of stocks, shares and marketable securities (including composition for duty on any such transfers).

Bills of Exchange and promissory notes.

Contract notes.

Letters of allotment, letters of renunciation, and script certificates.

Statements as to amount of capital of corporations or companies with limited liability, and as to amount of capital contributed by limited partner.

Statements as to amount proposed to be secured by issue of loan capital.

Mortgages to secure debenture stock.

Policies of insurance.

APPENDIX B.

Extract from the Outline of Financial Provisions of the Home Rule Bill issued by the Government with the Bill.

Present Irish Revenue and Expenditure.

It is estimated that the revenue to be derived from Ireland in the year 1912-13 will be as follows :—

	£
Customs	3,230,000
Excise	3,320,000
Income Tax	1,512,000
Estate Duties	939,000
Stamps	347,000
Miscellaneous	137,000
Post Office	1,354,000
Total	10,839,000

It is estimated that the expenditure for Irish purposes in the year 1912-13 will amount to £12,354,000. The expenditure may be divided for the purposes of this Memorandum as follows :—

	£
All purposes not separately specified	5,462,000
Post Office	1,600,000
Old Age Pensions	2,664,000
Charges under the Land Purchase Acts	761,000
National Insurance and Labour Exchanges	191,500
Royal Irish Constabulary	1,377,500
Collection of revenue	298,000
Total	12,354,000

The expenditure therefore exceeds the revenue by £1,515,000.

It is anticipated that in a period of ten or fifteen years the charges under the existing Land Purchase Acts will increase by £450,000, and under the National Insurance Act by £300,000. On the other hand, it is estimated that within twenty years the cost of Old Age Pensions will decrease by £200,000.

Charges upon the Irish Exchequer.

The Bill provides for the establishment of an Irish Exchequer and an Irish Consolidated Fund.

From the Irish Exchequer will be defrayed the whole of the present and future cost of Irish government, with the exception of the expenditure on certain services, termed in the Bill Reserved Services.

Charges upon the Imperial Exchequer.

The Imperial Government will retain the control, and the Imperial Exchequer will continue to bear the cost, of the Reserved Services, namely, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Land Purchase, and Collection of Taxes. For a period of six years the Royal Irish Constabulary will also be one of the Reserved Services.

There are provisions for the transfer to the Irish Government of certain of the Reserved Services under the conditions stated below.

Revenue of the Irish Exchequer.

The Bill provides, in the first instance, for the period during which the yield of Irish taxes is less than the cost of Irish administration, and contemplates certain modifications after a financial equilibrium has been attained.

During that period the revenue of the Irish Exchequer will consist of a sum transferred annually from the Imperial Exchequer, and termed in the Bill the Transferred Sum, together with the receipts of the Irish Post Office.

The Transferred Sum will be fixed at the outset at such amount as will cover, with the addition of the Post Office revenue, the present expenditure on Irish Government, with the exception of the cost of the Reserved Services. Included in the Transferred Sum will also be a specified sum as surplus. The amount of this surplus will be £500,000 annually for a period of three years, then diminishing by £50,000 a year for six years till it reaches £200,000, at which sum it will remain.

Subject to this variation in the amount of the surplus and to certain minor variations specified in the Bill, and subject also to any changes consequent upon the exercise by the Irish Parliament of the powers of increasing or reducing taxation which are defined below, the amount of the Transferred Sum, fixed in the first year after the passing of the Act, will remain the same until an equilibrium is reached between the total revenue derived from Ireland and the total expenditure on Irish purposes.

Revenue of the Imperial Exchequer from Ireland.

The Bill provides that until such equilibrium is established the whole of the proceeds of all Irish taxes shall be collected by the Treasury of the United Kingdom, and be paid into the Imperial Exchequer. (This provision does not apply to Post Office revenues.)

The revenue so collected should be sufficient to cover the Transferred Sum and to provide a balance sufficient to defray a part of the cost of the Reserved Services. As[1] the revenue from Ireland increases in the future, the receipts of the Imperial Exchequer will increase proportionately, and the yearly deficit which will fall at the outset upon the Imperial Exchequer will gradually be lessened and ultimately disappear.

[1] The word " if " appears to be more appropriate (Author).

Joint Exchequer Board.

The Bill establishes a Joint Exchequer Board of Great Britain and Ireland, consisting of two members appointed by the Imperial Treasury and two by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by His Majesty the King.

The duty of the Board will be to determine certain questions of fact arising from time to time under the financial provisions of the Bill.

The figures given in this Paper are estimates only, and do not purport to be final. The Bill, therefore, does not rest upon these figures, but enables the fuller returns to be obtained after the passing of the Act, and it provides that the amounts of Irish Revenue and Expenditure for the purposes of the Act shall be, not the figures given in this Paper, but such sums as may be determined after the passing of the Act, upon the basis of these fuller returns and of the more accurate figures of Revenue and Expenditure which will then be available, by the Joint Exchequer Board.

Revenue and Expenditure Accounts.

If, however, the estimates given above are assumed, for purposes of illustration, to be the figures finally determined, the Irish Government's Budget in the first year would balance as follows :—

Revenue.	£	*Expenditure.*	£
Transferred Sum	6,127,000	All purposes not separately specified	5,462,000
Post Office	1,354,000	Post Office	1,600,000
Fee Stamps	81,000		7,062,000
		Surplus	500,000[1]
Total	7,562,000	Total	7,562,000

The Imperial Government's receipts and expenditure on Irish account would balance as follows :—

Revenue.	£	*Expenditure.*	£
Irish Revenue (excluding Post Office and fee stamps)	9,404,000	Transferred Sum	6,127,000
Deficit	2,015,000	Old Age Pensions	2,664,000
		National Insurance and Labour Exchanges	191,500
		Land Purchase—	
		(1) Land Commission	592,000
		(2) Other Charges	169,000
		Constabulary	1,377,500
		Collection of Revenue	298,000
Total	11,419,000	Total	11,419,000

[1] Subject to subsequent reduction as stated above.

Transfer of the Reserved Services to the Irish Government.

After six years, the control of the Royal Irish Constabulary will pass to the Irish Executive. The Irish Parliament is empowered to assume at any time, with twelve months' notice, legislative and executive control with respect to Old Age Pensions, to National Health Insurance, or to Unemployment Insurance, together with Labour Exchanges. When any such transfer of Reserved Services is effected, the financial burden will be assumed by the Irish Exchequer, and an addition will be made to the Transferred Sum corresponding to the financial relief given to the Imperial Exchequer.

Loans and Capital Liabilities.

Loans made for the purposes of land purchase and loans made before the passing of the Act for other Irish purposes will be among the Reserved Services, and the payment of interest and sinking fund charges will be made by the Imperial Exchequer.

New loans may be raised by the Irish Parliament on the security of the Irish revenue. Provision is also made for enabling the joint Exchequer Board, if so authorised by the Irish Parliament, to issue the loans and to meet the interest and sinking fund charges by means of deductions from the Transferred Sum.

The Bill provides for the apportionment between the two Exchequers of liability for existing loans raised for Irish services.

Readjustment when Financial Equilibrium is reached.

When the total revenue received from Ireland by the Imperial Treasury has been sufficient, during three consecutive years, to meet the total charges for Irish purposes, the Exchequer Board shall report the fact with a view to a revision of the financial arrangements. Since it is impossible now to foresee what services may remain at that time as Reserved Services, what loans may have been contracted during the intervening years, and what changes may have been made in the rates of taxation, the Bill does not attempt to enact the modifications which may then be desirable.

It contemplates, however, as part of the present financial settlement, that Parliament will then consider, on the one hand, the fixing of such contribution by Ireland to the common expenses of the United Kingdom as may be equitable, and, on the other hand, the transfer to the Irish Legislature and Government of the control and collection of such taxes as may be deemed advisable.

(The remainder of the Financial outline is no longer accurate owing to amendments inserted during the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons and has therefore been omitted).

APPENDIX C.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
BELFAST, 12th June, 1912.

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL, 1912.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, PRESENTED TO A GENERAL MEETING OF THE BELFAST CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ON TUESDAY, 11TH JUNE, 1912, AND ADOPTED WITH THREE DISSENTIENTS.

YOUR Council have given careful consideration to the Government of Ireland Bill now before Parliament, and feel compelled to state that they fail to find therein anything that would lead them to modify the opinions expressed in the report of the Chamber on the Home Rule Bill of 1893. The general effect of the present measure, as of the Bill of 1893, would be that through the power of taxation the manufactures and commerce of Ireland will necessarily stand at the mercy of a majority who have little direct concern in the commercial interests so vitally affected, and who are without adequate experience of the science of government. Your Council believe that the economic and social conditions of Ireland render it signally unfit for Home Rule. The population is not homogeneous, it is radically divided on the lines of race and religion, and, unfortunately, the two parties are filled with distrust and historical jealousies of each other.

The Chamber, being representative only of commercial and industrial interests, have always endeavoured to avoid as far as possible the controversies of party politics and religion, but when the interests of the whole mercantile community are so gravely threatened by proposals for constitutional change of the most far-reaching character, they feel that emphatic expression of their views is imperative.

Nineteen years have passed since the Chamber took action to oppose the last Home Rule Bill, and all our experience during that period has only served to confirm and justify the position then taken up, of determination to remain an integral part of the United Kingdom, under one Flag and one Parliament.

It is now established that had the Bill of 1893 passed into law the Irish Exchequer would have in a few years become bankrupt, and that the great measures of Land Purchase which have so

materially conduced to the peace and prosperity of this country could never have been carried into effect by an Irish Parliament. As stated in our report on the Bill of 1893 :—

> " The chief economic necessity of the country is the development of manufactures, trade and commerce ; but the vast majority of the population have no appreciation of the conditions under which alone such necessities can be met. They do not seem to know that, while a Government can destroy prosperity by destroying security and credit, no Government can create it in the face of insecurity and suspicion."

Ireland's Advance.—It is indisputable that under the security of the Imperial Parliament the prosperity of Ireland has shown a great and growing advance. The following figures, relating only to the period which has elapsed since the defeat of the last Home Rule Bill, prove this conclusively. The total import and export trade at Irish ports in 1904, the earliest year for which official returns are available, was estimated at £103,790,799, and in 1910 at £130,888,732 sterling. Deposits and Cash Balances in Joint Stock Banks in Ireland on the 30th June, 1893, amounted to £34,637,000, as compared with £56,011,000 in 1911, being an increase of £21,374,000. The figures in relation to Post Office Savings Banks for the same years are £4,155,000 and £12,253,000 respectively ; and for Trustees' Savings Banks £1,856,000 and £2,557,000 respectively. The gross Receipts of Irish Railways in 1893 amounted to £3,181,043, and in 1910 to £4,474,016.

Belfast's Progress.—So far as Belfast is concerned, its progress since the Union has been continuous. In 1783, we find its population was 13,105 ; in 1891 it was 255,950 ; while the Registrar-General's estimate at 1st April, 1912, was 391,051. Thus, since the rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1893, the population of Belfast has increased by over 50 per cent. In 1893 the valuation of Belfast was £741,000 ; in 1912 its valuation is £1,543,919. The total local taxation to-day (including Water and Poor rates) stands at 7s. 1d. in the £, that of Dublin being 10s. 3d., and that of Cork 10s. 6d. The funds at command of the three Banks having Head Offices in Belfast were in 1892 £14,797,285 ; in 1911 they aggregated £25,107,600. The amount collected by the Customs Department, Belfast, for 1892 was £2,376,511, and by the Inland Revenue Department about £900,000, making together £3,250,000. The total receipts collected by the former (including duty on British spirits) in 1911 was £3,647,686, and by the latter £1,267,691, making together £4,915,377, being from these sources a contribution to Imperial Revenue more than double that of the rest of Ireland, and surpassed by no other city in the United Kingdom except London, Liverpool and Bristol. In 1893 the tonnage of vessels clearing from Belfast was 2,002,629, and in 1911 2,841,553. The registered tonnage of the ports of Great Britain in 1910 was 13,361,988 ; that of all the ports of Ireland 359,853, and of the latter Belfast holds

upwards of 74 per cent. Belfast can show the largest shipyard, the largest tobacco factory, distillery, ropeworks, and linen factory in the world ; and it is satisfactory to be able to state that, according to the latest Board of Trade returns, the rate of pauperism in Belfast is the lowest of any city in the United Kingdom, being only 107 per 10,000, as against 296 in Dublin, 336 in Cork, 263 in Glasgow, 228 in Manchester, 220 in Liverpool, 209 in Bristol, and 210 the average for the United Kingdom. Nor is the very gratifying record in regard to pauperism at present possessed by our city by any means accidental ; for many years, Belfast in this respect has been able to claim an equally enviable position.

In considering the significance of the industrial growth of Belfast as illustrated by the foregoing statistics, it is important to recollect that coal and practically all the raw materials for our industries, such as iron, steel, flax, tobacco, grain, etc., have to be imported, and that it is outside of Ireland that the chief markets for our products are found. The fact that our industrial growth is due to the development of trade with England and Scotland and is also of an international character, and further that the amount of trade done by our shipbuilding and manufacturing concerns for Irish clients is comparatively trivial, amply justifies our desire for the maintenance always of the closest relations with Great Britain and complete association with the world-wide prestige of the United Kingdom in which we freely participate.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the progress of Belfast has been made under *precisely the same laws as those governing the other cities and provinces of Ireland.* No privilege has been, or is enjoyed by Belfast that has not been equally within reach of every other city or town in our island.

Again, as in 1893, we ask :—

> " Why should we be driven by force to abandon the conditions which have led to that success ? We can imagine no conceivable reason—no fault that we have committed—which could justify the treatment which this Bill prepares for us. We are to be driven out of our present close connection with England and Scotland ; we are to be deprived of the power to control our own future ; and we are to be handed over to the government and guidance of men of whose principles we disapprove and whose capacity has never been applied towards the practical advancement of the material interests of the country."

In view of the country's present and growing prosperity, we have a right to ask what is the justification for the present proposal for so revolutionary a change ? Ireland is manifestly unfitted for an experiment of such stupendous import as is involved in this Bill ; nor is it rationally conceivable how the experiment could possibly succeed. The Commercial and Manufacturing districts though so important form but a relatively small portion of the country. Ireland possesses neither the natural resources, the capital, nor the

unity of race or interest capable of enabling it successfully to stand alone without the support of Imperial credit. The following statement from our Report of 1893 holds equally good to-day :—

" From Belfast, as a centre, business has spread and is spreading. Londonderry, Coleraine, Ballymena, Lisburn, Lurgan, Banbridge, Gilford, Portadown, Cookstown, Strabane, Dungannon, and many other towns are closely connected with Belfast by Commercial ties, and there are now millions of money employed in the trade of Ulster, and tens of thousands of persons dependent on it and thriving by it. The development of that trade is entirely dependent on the maintenance of the sense of security ; and it is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that the mere introduction of the Bill, which we have been deputed to examine, has seriously shaken credit."

GUARANTEES AND SAFEGUARDS.—Your Council are unable to discover in the Bill any provisions calculated to allay the increasing apprehensions already so widespread. On the contrary, there seems to be a complete absence of any real or practical protection from unwise or unjust taxation or from the injudicious or partial application of taxation. The suggested guarantees and safeguards, both religious and civil, they regard as wholly nominal, and of no practical operative value. This view would seem to be confirmed by the admission made by Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on May 2nd. Speaking of the Imperial supremacy of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, which the Prime Minister had referred to as the great safeguard for the minority, Sir Edward Grey said :—" I admit that while we preserve Imperial supremacy for purposes of this Parliament in theory over Irish affairs, in practice we shall have to go out of our way to exercise that supremacy. I do not wish to see this done." Then, he went on to assure the Irish Nationalist members that they " may rely with perfect confidence that the Imperial Parliament will not go out of its way—unless there be some very extreme case —to interfere in Irish affairs." So much for the safeguard of the Imperial veto. Nor can your Council regard the nominated Senate as constituting any safeguard or protection on which they could rely. The Senate is to consist of forty Nominated members, while the Irish House of Commons will contain 164, in which the representatives of the business community are invited to appear in a hopeless minority of about one-fifth. Should any disagreement occur between the Senate and the House of Commons, it is to be settled by a joint sitting of the two Houses, and the matter will be determined by the vote of the majority. It is clear, therefore, that should any question arise between the mercantile and manufacturing part of the community and the rest of Ireland, even though the entire Senate voted with the representatives of the mercantile community (a very improbable contingency, seeing that all members of the Senate, save the first Senate which will be appointed by the Imperial

Government, will be nominated on the advice of the Executive Committee of the Irish Government), they would still be powerless to influence the result. Thus the protection offered by the Senate to the commercial and industrial parts of the community is a mere mockery; and it may be plainly stated that under the provisions of the Bill these interests would be absolutely defenceless.

The projected guarantee by way of appeal as to whether a particular Act was beyond the powers of the Irish Parliament could only result in uncertainty in legal proceedings under an Irish Act, as the value of a decision by the Court might remain undetermined until the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had pronounced upon the validity of the Act in question. And, as the right of appeal is not restricted to any given period, uncertainty might endure indefinitely. Indeed, after having been enforced for years, an Act might be declared absolutely invalid, in which event confusion inexpressible must ensue.

The retention of forty-two Irish members in the Imperial Parliament definitely prevents a final solution of the difficulties inherent in the attempt to separate Irish from Imperial questions; while the power conferred by Clause 26 to summon at the request of the Joint Exchequer Board an indefinite number of persons—who, though members of the Irish Parliament, would in the Imperial Parliament represent no ascertained constituencies—to vote on the question of the financial relations of the two countries seems to introduce a constitutional machinery wholly unprecedented. No indication is given in the Bill as to how these members are to be selected.

Financial Proposals.—So far as the probable effect of the financial proposals of the Bill can be estimated, your Council fear they give openings to grave injustice in the matter of taxation, and at the same time afford no stable basis on which to estimate a revenue. The new Irish Government is not to collect its own revenue, but very wide powers are given to the Irish Parliament to impose new or differential taxation. The power to interfere with Excise duties and in a limited degree with Customs apparently involves the establishment of Customs barriers. It is impossible to overestimate the extent to which this preposterous proposal would hamper the free interchange of commodities between Ireland and Great Britain. The authority to grant Bounties might easily be used as a mischievous form of protection, and would very probably be exercised in futile attempts to establish industries not based on sound economic conditions.

It is to be observed that while not empowering the Irish Parliament to interfere with any question as to land purchase under existing Acts, collection of taxes, or public loans made in Ireland before the passing of the Bill, the Bill does authorise the Irish Parliament to require to be transferred to itself from the Imperial Parliament, at the expiration of one year, the Old-Age Pensions,

National Insurance, and Labour Exchange. After ten years, the Irish Parliament would also have the right to take over the Post Office Savings Bank, Trustees' Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies; and it is at once entrusted with the Post Office, which of all Government services is the least suited for segregation. Than this, no more retrograde step has been proposed by any Government within the past fifty years. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and other Canadian provinces, have abandoned their separate Post Offices to establish one general Canadian Postal service; the several independent sections of Australia have followed their example, and quite recently the South African Union adopted the same policy, which has proved of extreme benefit to the commercial community. By cutting Ireland off from the advantages of a general postal service for the United Kingdom serious injustice will be done to our industries. Your Council cannot but view with the gravest apprehension the transference of these services to the Irish Parliament.

Should the Bill become law it is to be feared that the present system of Land Purchase, which has operated so successfully, will be entirely suspended. Apparently, under the Bill, the Irish Government would have a free hand to interfere with the present conditions of tenure between landlord and tenant, both as regards rent and continuance; and it is manifest that any drastic reductions of rent would be liable to create dissatisfaction among those who had purchased on a different footing, and possibly lead to difficulties in collecting the instalments payable under the Land Purchase Acts, any loss from which will be a direct charge on the Irish revenue. It is obvious that any general refusal to pay the amount of the instalments due under the Land Purchase Acts would wreck the finances of the Bill.

General.—With reference to Education, your Council can see nothing in the Bill to prevent the knowledge of Gaelic being made an essential qualification for any public appointment. It is monstrous that English-speaking people should by the arbitrary application of such a test be denied opportunity of obtaining official employment.

The determined and solid opposition of practically the whole commercial community of the country and of so large a part of the population of the North of Ireland to a Home Rule Government, even if such opposition were based on ignorance and prejudice instead of well-founded apprehension, would alone ensure its shipwreck. No Government could succeed which had to encounter the bitter hostility of the most progressive and industrial part of its people.

General conditions in Ireland are not such as to give hope of a legislature imbued with wisdom and caution derived from experience. Throughout the largest part of the country there is but a small representation of the great middle class which in Great Britain has been the mainstay of stable Government, and, further, the

political machinery of those who would form the majority in the Irish Parliament has unhappily fallen entirely into the hands of the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, whose dominance in Irish Government would be absolute and intolerable.

Apart from political and religious differences, the overwhelming preponderance of agricultural and rural population over those engaged in commerce and manufacture constitutes a very serious danger. In Ireland, the former outnumbers the latter by nearly three to one. In England these interests are more nearly balanced. It is easy to see how ill-advised taxation or interference with the conditions of industrial employment by a majority wholly ignorant of and inexperienced in such matters might bring speedy ruin on some of our great industries, whose requirements would not be properly appreciated by the representatives of Agricultural interests. The industrial community should not be subjected to this danger, and have a right to insist that both in point of laws and administration Irish industries should remain under the same conditions as rule in the rest of the United Kingdom.

It is not open to doubt that the separation of Irish interests from those of Great Britain, and the social upheaval which Home Rule must necessarily involve, would inflict a serious blow upon the commercial credit we now enjoy and which is essential to our business.

The Measure throughout seems to have been dictated by an attempt to effect a compromise between the political exigency of making substantial concessions to the Nationalist demand, and such limitations on Irish self-government as the most ordinary prudence would impose, and the inevitable result of this scheme would be to break up the full partnership with Great Britain, to weaken if not to destroy the rule of Imperial Parliament, and to offer Ireland a form of constitution, which even the least important colony would reject, and which cannot fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the Nationalist sentiment which it is pretended to satisfy.

Introducing the Bill, the Prime Minister stated that this measure of Home Rule for Ireland was but the first step towards some general scheme of devolution and federation to be at some time hereafter applied to the other parts of the United Kingdom. Your Council most strongly urge that until England, Scotland, and Wales have unmistakably expressed their willingness to accept for themselves such conditions as are now proposed for Ireland they have no right to ask us to submit to them.

With our firmly established position in the Empire we are perfectly satisfied. The trade and commerce of Ireland are hampered by no qualifications or conditions which do not equally affect every part of the United Kingdom. Indeed, it is beyond controversy that under the rule of Imperial Parliament the country as a whole has obtained benefits and advantages which could never have been secured under any Irish Government.

Therefore, as patriotic Irishmen, we protest against a change more than ever uncalled for, and, as we believe, fraught with disaster to our country, a change under which the peculiar industrial interests of this part of Ireland would be at the mercy of a permanent majority with antagonistic ideals and methods.

In conclusion, as responsible citizens of the United Kingdom, we enter solemn and resolute protest against such unmerited degradation of our status as is assuredly involved in our being thrust out of that full community of interest and national life with Great Britain which we now enjoy.

THE END

Printed by Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Bath
(2333)

PITMAN'S CATALOGUE OF GENERAL LITERATURE

ART

GREAT PAINTERS OF THE 19th CENTURY AND THEIR PAINTINGS. By LÉONCE BÉNÉDITE, Keeper of the Musée National de Luxembourg. With over 400 illustrations and 13 coloured plates. In large demy 4to, cloth gilt, gilt top, 10s. 6d. net.

"It is a splendid survey of the progress of painting in Europe and America during the nineteenth century, and combines art criticism with biography in a scholarly and instructive manner. —*Western Mail.*

THE HISTORY OF MUSIC: A Handbook and Guide. By WALDO SELDEN PRATT. With 130 illustrations and three maps. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt. 7s. 6d. net.

"A most convenient and valuable work of reference . . . the book may be said to cover the whole extensive field to which it is devoted, in a remarkably thorough and comprehensive fashion." —*Westminster Gazette.* "Indispensable in the music-lover's library."—*Pall Mall Gazette.* "A book which for terseness and inclusiveness has never been equalled in music literature."—*Sheffield Telegraph.*

COLOUR PRINTING AND COLOUR PRINTERS. By R. M. BURCH. With a chapter on Modern Processes by W. GAMBLE. With 23 colour prints and 8 half-tone illustrations. In super royal 8vo, cloth gilt. 12s. 6d. net.

"In his excellent work recently published on this subject—a work which is to be heartily commended for the thorough knowledge it displays of colour printing in all its phases as well as for the clear and pleasant style in which this knowledge is communicated—Mr. Burch has traced the history of the colour print from the first doubtful experiments of the Fifteenth Century down to the present day."—*Morning Post.*

WHO'S WHO IN THE THEATRE. A Biographical Record of the Contemporary Stage. By JOHN PARKER. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 750 pp., 6s. net; leather, 8s. 6d. net. In addition to the biographical section, the book contains many other interesting features, including a calendar of notable theatrical events; full details of the new play productions and important revivals of the year in London, the Provinces, New York, and Paris; Genealogical Tables of famous theatrical families, compiled by Mr. J. M. Bulloch, the Editor of *The Graphic;* a most exhaustive Dramatic and Musical Obituary; full particulars of the principal theatres in London, New York, Paris, and Berlin, with the seating plans of the leading London theatres, etc.

BIOGRAPHY

BOSWELL'S JOHNSON. (*See* " Life of Samuel Johnson.")

JOHN BUNYAN: His Life, Times and Work. By the Rev. JOHN BROWN, B.A., D D. With portrait and illustrations by WHYMPER. Cheap edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

" The best life of John Bunyan."—*Literary World.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 4.)

MRS. GASKELL. Haunts, Homes, and Stories. By Mrs. ELLIS H. CHADWICK. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, photogravure frontispiece, and 38 other illustrations. 16s. net.

" The volume is certain of an enduring place among those which deal with the literary history of this country, and it is certainly indispensable to any who wish to understand the woman of whose life it tells, or the value of her work and influence . . . indeed a sympathetic and faithful picture not only of Mrs. Gaskell, but also of the days in which she lived."—*Manchester Daily Despatch.*

THE LIFE OF DANTE. By the late E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Dean of Wells. Edited by ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER. In fcap. 8vo, lambskin gilt, 2s. 6d. net. Also in cloth, 1s. 6d. net.

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL. (*See* Dainty Volume Library, page 4.)

BISHOP WALSHAM HOW. A Memoir. By his Son, FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW. Cheap Edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s.

" Extremely well done . . altogether a book which cannot be read without profit and encouragement."—*Guardian.*

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D. By JAMES BOSWELL, Newly edited with notes by ROGER INGPEN. With 568 illustrations, including 12 photogravure plates, fully indexed. In two vols., crown 4to, half morocco, 21s. net. (Also in two vols., handsome cloth gilt, 18s. net.)

" A singularly complete and attractive edition. The greatest judgment has been shown in selecting pictures which should illustrate Johnson's period, and bring before the reader's eye the actual features of the men and women among whom he moved. Altogether the New ' Boswell ' is one which will be certain to secure a fresh band of admirers for a work which will ever remain one of the treasures of our literature."—*Westminster Gazette.*

GEORGE MACDONALD. A Biographical and Critical Appreciation. By JOSEPH JOHNSON. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 2s. 6d. net.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN. By JACOB B. BULL. A book for the young. Translated from the Norwegian by the Rev. MORDAUNT R. BÉRNARD, one of the translators of *Farthest North.* Illustrated. In crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

THE LIFE OF SIR ISAAC PITMAN (Inventor of Phonography). By ALFRED BAKER. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with about 50 illustrations, including photogravure and steel plates, 7s. 6d.

"The book is very well done. It gives a life-like picture of a strenuous reformer, an original personality, an inventor to whom every newspaper, every public body, and every great business house owes an incalculable debt."—*Christian World.*

LIFE OF REGINALD POLE. By MARTIN HAILE. Second, Revised, and Cheaper edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with eight illustrations, 7s. 6d. net.

"An excellent book, based on a first-hand acquaintance with documents, some of which are here utilised for the first time. It gives a vivid and most faithful picture of the last Archbishop of Canterbury who acknowledged the See of Rome."—*Daily Chronicle.*

THE LETTERS OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Containing about 480 letters. Collected and edited by ROGER INGPEN. With 42 illustrations and two photogravures. New and cheaper edition, with corrections and additional matter. In two volumes, large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net. Hand-made paper *édition de luxe*, half leather, large demy 8vo, 21s. net.

"Mr. Ingpen has done all that can be done to provide us with a perfect edition of one of the most interesting series of letters in English literature. The edition is worthy of the magnificent material with which it deals."—*Daily News.*

REMINISCENCES OF MY LIFE. By Sir CHARLES SANTLEY. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with 15 illustrations, 16s. net.

"Not a trace of the weary veteran is discernible in this entertaining volume."—*The World.*

MRS. E. M. WARD'S REMINISCENCES. Edited by ELLIOTT O'DONNELL. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with six photogravure plates, 12s. 6d. net.

"Mrs. E. M. Ward throughout all these pages displays a wide sympathy, a charming personality, and an interesting acquaintance with men and things which make her book a sweet, wholesome, and delightful volume . . . . will win an established place among the records of the Victorian Era."—*Daily Telegraph.*

COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHIES

GREAT ASTRONOMERS. By Sir ROBERT BALL. Illustrated. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

THE HEROIC IN MISSIONS. Pioneers in six fields By the Rev. A. R. BUCKLAND, M.A. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 1s. 6d.

MODERN PAINTERS AND THEIR PAINTINGS. By SARAH TYTLER. For the use of Schools and Learners in Art. In crown 8vo, quarter cloth gilt, 4s. 6d

COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHIES (*contd.*)

MUSICAL COMPOSERS AND THEIR WORKS. By the same Author. For the use of Schools and Students in Music. Revised. In crown 8vo, quarter cloth gilt, 4s. 6d.

THE OLD MASTERS AND THEIR PICTURES. By the same Author. For the use of Schools and Learners in Art. New and enlarged edition. In crown 8vo, quarter cloth gilt, 4s. 6d.

THE ORGAN AND ITS MASTERS. A short account of the most celebrated organists of former days, and of the present time, together with a brief sketch of the development of organ construction, organ music, and organ playing. By HENRY C. LAHEE. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, with 14 full-page plate illustrations. 6s. net.

MODERN COMPOSERS OF EUROPE. Being an account of the most recent musical progress in the various European nations with some notes on their history, and critical and biographical sketches of the contemporary musical leaders in each country. By ARTHUR ELSON. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with 24 full-page plate illustrations. 6s. net.

PITMAN'S DAINTY VOLUME LIBRARY

Each in fcap. 8vo, limp lambskin gilt, gilt top, with Photogravure Frontispiece, 2s. 6d. per volume net.

DANTE. THE DIVINA COMMEDIA AND CANZONIERE. Translated by the late DEAN PLUMPTRE. With Notes, Studies, Estimates, and Life. In five volumes.

THE LIFE OF DANTE. By the same Author. In one volume.

THE TRAGEDIES OF ÆSCHYLOS. Translated by DEAN PLUMPTRE. In two volumes.

THE TRAGEDIES OF SOPHOCLES. Translated by DEAN PLUMPTRE. In two volumes

BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON. (Abridged.) With an Introduction by G. K. CHESTERTON In two volumes.

THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes.

TENNYSON: HIS ART AND RELATION TO MODERN LIFE. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes.

JOHN BUNYAN; HIS LIFE, TIMES AND WORK. By JOHN BROWN, D.D. In two volumes.

JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL. (Abridged). With Appreciation by the Rt. Hon. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, M.P. In two volumes.

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL. (Abridged.) With Introduction by Sir W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN. By WILLIAM PENN. With an Introduction by J. DEANE HILTON. In one vol.

CLOUGH, ARNOLD, ROSSETTI, AND MORRIS: A Study. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In one volume, with four illustrations, 306 pp., 3s. 6d. net.

FICTION

BY WHAT AUTHORITY? By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.
THE LIGHT INVISIBLE. By Robert Hugh Benson. 3s. 6d.
RICHARD RAYNAL, SOLITARY. By Robert Hugh Benson, 3s. 6d.
THE KING'S ACHIEVEMENT. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.
THE QUEEN'S TRAGEDY. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.
THE SENTIMENTALISTS. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.
A MIRROR OF SHALOTT. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.
LORD OF THE WORLD. By Robert Hugh Benson. 6s.
MY LADY OF AROS. A Tale of Mull and the Macleans. By John Brandane. Coloured frontispiece. Cheaper Edition 2s. net.
MEN OF THE MOSS-HAGS. By S. R. Crockett. Illustrated. 6s.
WOLFVILLE. By Alfred Henry Lewis. Illustrated. 6s.
THE GOD OF HIS FATHERS. By Jack London. Tales of the Klondyke. 6s.
A DAUGHTER OF THE SNOWS. By the same Author. 6s.
ANNE OF GREEN GABLES. By L. M. Montgomery. 6s.
ANNE OF AVONLEA. By the same Author. Coloured frontispiece. 6s.
KILMENY OF THE ORCHARD. By the same Author. With four coloured illustrations. 6s.
THE STORY GIRL. By the same Author. Coloured frontispiece. 6s.
PRINCESS JOYCE. By Keighley Snowden. 6s.
THE GLORY OF THE CONQUERED. The Story of a Great Love. By Susan Glaspell. 6s.
THE LEAD OF HONOUR. By Norval Richardson. Coloured frontispiece. 6s.
GEORGE THORNE. By the same Author. With coloured frontispiece. 6s.
THE UNDER TRAIL. By Anna Alice Chapin. Coloured frontispiece. 6s.
THE PLEASURING OF SUSAN SMITH. By Helen M. Winslow. With illustrations. 3s. 6d. net.

HISTORY

THE ENGLISH IN CHINA. Being an account of the Intercourse and Relations between England and China, from the year 1600 to the year 1843 and a summary of Later Developments. By J. Bromley Eames, M.A., B.C.L. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with maps and illustrations. 20s. net.
OUTLINES OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A Study in Social Development. By H. O. Meredith, M.A., M.Com. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 5s. net.
THE BRITISH MUSEUM: ITS HISTORY AND TREASURES. A view of the origins of that great Institution, sketches of its Early Benefactors and Principal Officers, and a survey of the priceless objects preserved within its walls. By Henry C. Shelley. Author of *Inns and Taverns of Old London*. With fifty illustrations. Size $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $9\frac{5}{8}$ in., elaborate cloth gilt, gilt top, 12s. 6d. net.

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS AND ITS PLACE IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY. By A. C. ADDISON. With numerous original illustrations. Size 6½ in. by 9⅝ in., cloth gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

A beautifully illustrated book, in which the Pilgrims are followed into the New World, their individual fortunes are traced out, and details are given of recent efforts to perpetuate their memory.

INNS AND TAVERNS OF OLD LONDON. Setting forth the historical and literary associations of those ancient hostelries, together with an account of the most notable coffee-houses, clubs, and pleasure gardens of the British metropolis. By HENRY C. SHELLEY. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with coloured frontispiece and 48 other illustrations. 7s. 6d. net.

OLD COUNTRY INNS. By HENRY P. MASKELL and EDWARD W. GREGORY. With 50 illustrations by the authors. In large crown 8vo, cloth. New Edition with Lists of Old Inns, "Trust" Inns, and Glossary of Signs. 3s. 6d. net.

"Messrs. Maskell and Gregory have written this history of theirs very well indeed. They classify the inns of England according to their origin, rating them as manorial, monastic, Church inns, and so on. They discourse in a pleasant gossipy strain on coaching inns, wayside inns, haunted inns, the inns of literature and art, historical and fanciful signs and curious signboards; of inn furniture, etc."—*Bookman.*

FLEET STREET IN SEVEN CENTURIES. Being a History of the growth of London beyond the Walls into the Western Liberty and of Fleet Street to our time. By WALTER GEORGE BELL. Author of *The Thames from Chelsea to the Nore.* With a Foreword by Sir Wm. P. Treloar, Bt. With 46 illustrations. Drawings by T. R. Way, Hanslip Fletcher, R. Anning Bell, T. E. Knightley; reproductions of old prints, original documents, maps and photographs. In demy 8vo, cloth, gilt top, 15s. net.

"Mr. Bell has chosen the picturesque and episodic method for his history, yet it is, *par excellence*, an antiquary's book. Records, rolls, inventories, the proceedings of wardmotes have been laboriously ransacked; but the result is never tedious, and we have seldom taken up a book of this kind which has had such a power of leading the reader on from page to page. The story is always human, and the writer has been careful to choose particulars that reconstruct for us the life of Fleet Street from generation to generation through the seven centuries."—*Athenæum.*

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Based on Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and other Documents. By ELLEN CHASE. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 1,500 pp. with 75 full-page plates. Three Vols. 25s. net

"A serviceable contribution to historical literature, because it gives, with a minuteness and wealth of colour unapproached by any other work of the kind known to us, a panoramic view of the life of Massachusetts in the early stages of the Civil War."—*Birmingham Daily Post.*

A HUNDRED YEARS OF IRISH HISTORY. By R. BARRY O'BRIEN. With Introductions by JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P. New Edition. In crown 8vo, cloth, 184 pp., 1s. 6d. net.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES. As illustrated by the Suppression of the Religious Houses of Staffordshire. By FRANCIS AIDAN HIBBERT, M.A., *of St. John's College, Cambridge; Headmaster of Denstone.* In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 5s. net.

JOHN PYM. By C. E. WADE, M.A., *Barrister-at-law.* With frontispiece. Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"Mr. Wade gives a fresh and effective picture of this statesman's career, keeping throughout in touch with his authorities; and his graphic narrative will fill the gap in the bookshelf made by the disappearance of Forster's Life written nearly 80 years ago, and long obsolete."—*The Times.*

MAKERS OF NATIONAL HISTORY. Edited by The Ven. W. H. HUTTON, B.D. Each volume in this series—the aim of which is to do fuller justice to men whose lives have not hitherto been adequately dealt with—is in crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with a frontispiece, 3s. 6d. net.

CARDINAL BEAUFORT. By the Rev. L. B. RADFORD, D.D.

"Studiously impartial . . . carefully written."—*Glasgow Herald.*

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH. By ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.

"It is brilliantly written . . . exceptionally clear and vivid . . . a book which was needed."—*The Morning Leader.*

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. By W. M. KENNEDY, B.A.

"Exceedingly well conceived, clearly expressed, and compiled with great care."—*The Guardian.*

GENERAL WOLFE. By EDWARD SALMON.

"A picture and an estimate of Wolfe which could not be more complete."—*Canada.*

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester (1662-1732). By the Very Rev. H. C. BEECHING, M.A., Litt.D., Dean of Norwich.

"A most delightful as well as a most valuable book."—*Guardian.*

EDWARD THE FOURTH. By LAURENCE STRATFORD, B.A.

THOMAS BECKET, Archbishop of Canterbury. By The Ven. W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Canon of Peterborough, and Archdeacon of Northampton.

METALLURGY, ETC.

AUSTRALIAN MINING AND METALLURGY. By DONALD CLARK, B.C.E., M.M.E. A detailed description of the Metallurgic Methods employed in the process of Ore Treatment and Gold Recovery. With numerous illustrations and diagrams. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, 21s. net.

REFINING OF GOLD. By DONALD CLARK, B.C.E. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with illustrations, 12s. 6d. net.

THE DREDGING OF GOLD PLACERS. By J. E. Hodgson, F.R.G.S. With 17 illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s. net. Principally intended for Company Directors, Property Managers, Prospectors, and the investing public.

COALFIELDS AND COLLIERIES OF AUSTRALIA. By F. Danvers Power. Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 440 pp., with 229 illustrations, 25s. net.

HIGH EXPLOSIVES. By W. R. Quinan. Royal 8vo, 224 pp. 21s. net.

NATURAL HISTORY, ETC.

MY BACKYARD ZOO. A Course of Natural History. By the late Rev. J. C. Wood. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 2s.

"Really a complete course of natural history."—*Times.*

THE A B C OF POULTRY. By E. B. Johnstone. In crown 8vo, cloth, cheap edition, 1s. net.

"A capital addition to the many books devoted to the outdoor life."—*World.*

CATS FOR PLEASURE AND PROFIT. By Miss Frances Simpson. Third Edition. In crown 8vo, with 25 beautifully reproduced photographs of famous prize-winning cats. 2s. net.

"The author explains that her object has been 'to help those who desire to combine pleasure with profit.' This aim is very successfully achieved."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

REPTILES OF THE WORLD. Tortoises and Turtles, Crocodilians, Lizards and Snakes of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. By Professor Raymond L. Ditmars. With frontispiece in colour, and nearly 200 illustrations from photographs taken by the author. In royal 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top. 20s. net.

BRITISH FERNS. A pocket help for the Student and Collector (comprising all the native species and showing where found). By Francis G. Heath. Size 6¾ in. by 3½ in., cloth, with 50 illustrations. 2s. net.

PEEPS INTO NATURE'S WAYS. By John J. Ward. Being chapters on insect, plant and minute life. Illustrated from photographs and photo-micrographs taken by the Author. Cheaper Edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

MISCELLANEOUS

ATHLETIC TRAINING FOR GIRLS. Compiled and Edited by C. E. Thomas. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with many illustrations. Illustrated. 3s. 6d. net.

"A book that every schoolmistress, every mother, and every girl should be compelled to read, for it is full of the best advice and thoroughly practical hints."—*World.*

COMMON COMMODITIES OF COMMERCE. Each handbook is dealt with by an expert writer. Beginning with the life history of the plant, or other natural product, he follows its development until it becomes a commercial commodity, and so on through the

various phases of its sale on the market, and its purchase by the consumer. Each is in crown 8vo, cloth, about 120 pp., with map, coloured frontispiece, chart and illustrations, 1s. 6d. net. **Tea,** from Grower to Consumer, by ALEXANDER IBBETSON. **Coffee,** from Grower to Consumer, by B. B. KEABLE. **Cotton.** From the Raw Material to the Finished Product. By R. J. PEAKE. **Oil**; Animal, Vegetable, Essential and Mineral. By C. AINSWORTH MITCHELL. **Sugar—Cane and Beet.** By GEO. MARTINEAU, C.B., **Rubber.** Production and utilisation of the raw material. By C. BEADLE and H. P. STEVENS, M.A., Ph.D. **Iron and Steel.** Their production and manufacture. By C. HOOD. **Silk.** Its production and manufacture. By LUTHER HOOPER. **Wool.** From the Raw Material to the Finished Product. By J. A. HUNTER. **Tobacco.** From Grower to Smoker. By A. E. TANNER. **Coal**: Its Origin, Method of Working, and Preparation for the Market. By FRANCIS H. WILSON, M.Inst., M.E., *Editor of Mining Engineering.*

Other Volumes in preparation.

DICKENS IN YORKSHIRE. Being Notes of a Journey to the Delightful Village of Dotheboys, near Greta Bridge. By C. EYRE PASCOE. In foolscap 4to, with four illustrations in colour and 11 black and white illustrations. 1s. 6d. net.

FRENCH PROSE WRITERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER. With Biographical and Critical Notices in French, and Literary and Bibliographical Notes in English. By VICTOR LEULIETTE, B-ès-L., A.K.C. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 350 pp. 3s. net.

"The book is on the whole the best advanced French Reader we know. It is certain to give students a heightened appreciation, not only of the flexibility and resources of the French language, but of the wealth and fascination of French thought and of the French outlook upon the world."—*Nation.*

FOR HOME SERVICE AND OTHER STORIES. By LYDE HOWARD. With coloured frontispiece and black and white illustrations. In foolscap 4to, cloth, decorated, coloured top, and end papers, 2s. 6d. net.

"This is one of the sweetest of this year's books. The tone is far above the average, and every touch is that of a master hand. The children's feelings and expressions are perfectly natural. We recommend this book with genuine pleasure."—*British Weekly.*

HOME GYMNASTICS FOR OLD AND YOUNG. By T. J. HARTELIUS, M.D. Translated and adapted from the Swedish by C. LÖFVING. With 31 illustrations. Fifth Edition, revised. With a prefatory note by ARTHUR A. BEALE, M.B. In stiff boards, 1s. 6d.

HOW TO CHOOSE A HOUSE. How to Take and Keep it. By CHARLES EMANUEL, M.A., and E. M. JOSEPH, A.R.I.B.A. In crown 8vo, cloth, with illustrations. Cheap edition, 1s. net.

"This book seems to us to contain well nigh all the information that a person desiring to acquire a property could desire."—*Record.*

HYPNOTISM AND SUGGESTION. In Daily Life, Education, and Medical Practice. By BERNARD HOLLANDER, M.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"We specially welcome the book before us. It is the work of a man of established reputation, who has devoted himself for years to the subject, and whose aim is to tell the English-speaking world what Hypnotism really is, what it can do, and to what conclusions it seems to point. It is written in a thoroughly scientific spirit. No fact is shirked, and no evidence is either suppressed or rated above its real value."—*Globe.*

LIGHTER MOMENTS. From the note-book of BISHOP WALSHAM HOW. Edited by his son, FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW. In small crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 2s. 6d.

OVERHEARD AT THE ZOO. By GLADYS DAVIDSON. With 2 coloured plates and 26 black and white illustrations. In foolscap 4to, cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

The author has catered for all children who love animals. Her aim has been to present the animals' own point of view, so far as it may be divined by sympathetic study.

PUBLIC SCHOOL LIFE. Each in foolscap 8vo, cloth, with 32 full page plate illustrations. 2s. net.

WESTMINSTER. By W. TEIGNMOUTH SHORE.
ETON. By AN OLD ETONIAN
HARROW. By ARCHIBALD FOX.
RUGBY. By H. H. HARDY.

THE ROYAL HIGH SCHOOL, EDINBURGH. By J. J. TROTTER. With 32 illustrations. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

THE REVERIES OF A BACHELOR: Or, A Book of the Heart. By the late IK MARVEL. With an Introduction by ARLO BATES. In foolscap 8vo, gilt top, limp lambskin, 2s. 6d. net. Also in cloth, 1s. 6d. net.

ROODSCREENS AND ROODLOFTS. By F. BLIGH BOND, F.R.I.B.A., and The Rev. DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B. With over 88 full-page collotype reproductions, and upwards of 300 other beautiful illustrations. In demy 4to, two vols., handsome cloth gilt, gilt top, 32s. net.

"A magnificent work."—*Evening Standard.*

THE BOOK OF THE CHILD. An Attempt to Set Down what is in the Mind of Children. By FREDERICK DOUGLAS HOW. In foolscap 8vo, leather, with dainty cover design, gilt corners, 3s. 6d. net; cloth, 2s. net.

MYSTICISM AND MAGIC IN TURKEY. An Account of the Religious Doctrines, Monastic Organisation, and Ecstatic Powers of the Dervish Orders. By LUCY M. J. GARNETT, Author of *Turkey of the Ottomans.* In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with illustrations. 6s. net.

THE PERSIAN PROBLEM. By H. J. WHIGHAM. With maps and illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 12s. 6d.

SCIENCE AND THE CRIMINAL. By C. AINSWORTH MITCHELL, B.A., F.I.C. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 250 pp., with 28 illustrations, 6s. net.

"The systems of personal identification are discussed, and the uses of photography, anthropometry, and finger prints are indicated. The selection of the cases and the manner in which the whole book is written show good judgment."—*Lancet.*

SYMBOLISM OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS Represented in English Church Architecture. By ARTHUR H. COLLINS, M.A. [Oxon.]. With 120 illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s. net.

THE SUNLIT ROAD: Readings in Verse and Prose for Every Day in the Year. By the Rev. W. GARRETT HORDER. In demy 16mo, cloth gilt, gilt corners, 3s. net; leather gilt, gilt corners, 4s. net.

"A dainty and delightful little 'day book' for quiet moments. It is the most charming book of its kind we have seen for a very long time, for Mr. Horder has given no day without a thought to crown it, a thought pure and sweet and true, to brighten the hours of workaday life."—*Lady.*

PITMAN'S STUDIES IN ELOCUTION. A guide to the theory and practice of the art of public speaking and reciting, with over 100 selections for Reciters and Readers. By E. M. CORBOULD (Mrs. Mark Robinson). In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, silk register, 2s. 6d. net.

"This treasury of prose and verse will appeal to all who cultivate the art of elocution or appreciate a choice store of literary gems." —*Educational News.*

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TEACHING OF MODERN SUBJECTS IN ENGLAND. By FOSTER WATSON, M.A. (Professor of Education in the University College of Wales; Aberystwyth). In crown 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

THE INNER LIFE OF GEORGE ELIOT. A Study of the Mental and Spiritual Development of the Novelist. By CHARLES GARDNER, M.A. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s. net.

POETRY, CRITICISM, & LITERARY HISTORY

THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE. Original issue. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 10s. 6d.

"The most satisfactory and stimulating criticism of the poet yet published."—*Times.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 4.)

TENNYSON: HIS ART AND RELATION TO MODERN LIFE. By the same Author. Original issue. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

"Will make a strong appeal to all lovers of our great Laureate."—*Quarterly Review.*

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 4.)

A STUDY OF CLOUGH, ARNOLD, ROSSETTI, AND MORRIS. With an Introduction on the Course of Poetry from 1822 to 1852. By the same Author. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

(*See also* Dainty Volume Library, page 4.)

EXPERIMENTS IN PLAY WRITING. Six plays in Verse and Prose with an Introductory Essay. By JOHN LAWRENCE LAMBE. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 5s. net.

THE POEMS OF JAMES HOGG. The Ettrick Shepherd. Selected and edited, with an introduction, by WILLIAM WALLACE, LL.D. With photogravure portrait frontispiece. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 5s.

WITH THE WILD GEESE. Songs of Irish Exile and Lament. By EMILY LAWLESS. With an Introduction by STOPFORD A. BROOKE. In square 8vo, cloth gilt, 4s. 6d. net.

MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE. By B. W. WELLS, Ph.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 520 pp., 6s. net.

MODERN ITALIAN LITERATURE. By LACY COLLISON-MORLEY, Author of *Guiseppe Baretti and his Friends*. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 360 pp., 6s. net.

A SHORT HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE. From Homer to Julian. By WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, Ph.D., late of Girton College, Cambridge. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 544 pp., 6s. net.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH POETRY. By the late Professor JOHN CHURTON COLLINS. Edited with Introduction, by Professor M. MACMILLAN. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with portrait. 3s. 6d. net.

POLITICS, ETC.

THE CASE AGAINST WELSH DISENDOWMENT. By J. FOVARGUE BRADLEY. Third impression. In demy 8vo, 1s. net.

NONCONFORMISTS AND THE WELSH CHURCH BILL. By the same Author. 2nd impression. Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

NONCONFORMITY AND POLITICS. By a NONCONFORMIST MINISTER. Cheap Edition. In crown 8vo, 1s. net.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF WELSH NONCONFORMITY. An Impartial Investigation. By VIATOR CAMBRENSIS. Demy 8vo, 1s. net.

FAMOUS SPEECHES. From Cromwell to Gladstone. Selected and Edited with Introductory Notes by HERBERT PAUL. In demy 8vo, cloth, 470 pp., 7s. 6d. net.

"A book of selections such as this is delightful reading. Mr. Herbert Paul has chosen discreetly in the wide field from Cromwell to Gladstone, and has prefaced each orator with a judicious criticism."—*Spectator*.

FAMOUS SPEECHES. Second Series. Selected and Edited with Introductory Notes by HERBERT PAUL. In demy 8vo, cloth, 398 pp., 7s. 6d. net.

SCIENCE

GREAT ASTRONOMERS. By Sir Robert Ball, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. With numerous full-page and other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

" Sir Robert Ball's gifts as a narrator are very great. He is, of course, a master of his subject .. . . The most earth-bound mortal who opens this book must go on with it."—*Daily Chronicle.*

IN STARRY REALMS. By the same Author. The Wonders of the Heavens. With numerous full-page and other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

" The style of popular exposition adopted throughout is indeed admirable, the illustrations are excellent, the binding is tasteful, and the print good."—*Saturday Review.*

IN THE HIGH HEAVENS. By the same Author. A popular account of recent interesting astronomical events and phenomena, with numerous full-page and other illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

" It has," says *The Scotsman*, " the freshest knowledge and the best scientific thought."

ASTRONOMY FOR EVERYBODY. By Professor Simon Newcombe, LL.D. With an Introduction by Sir Robert Ball. Illustrated. A popular exposition of the wonders of the Heavens. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

BY LAND AND SKY. By the Rev. John M. Bacon, M.A., F.R.A.S. The Record of a Balloonist. With four illustrations. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

SOCIOLOGY

SOCIALISM. By Professor Robert Flint, LL.D. New, Revised and Cheaper Edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

" A new, revised and cheaper edition of Professor Flint's masterly study will be generally welcomed. References show that the additional notes are well up to date."—*Daily Mail.*

THE PEOPLE OF THE ABYSS. By Jack London. A study of the social and economic conditions of life in the East End of London. By the author of *The Call of the Wild.* With 24 illustrations from actual photographs. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s.

" . . . Mr. Jack London, who is already known to the British public as a fine descriptive writer, has done for the East End of London what he did for the Klondyke—has described it fully and faithfully, looking at it as intimately as dispassionately."— *Daily Chronicle.*

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By " Scotsburn." An attempt to examine the principles and policy propounded by the advocates of Socialism. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

THE SOCIAL WORKER'S GUIDE. (See page 20.)

THEOLOGICAL

THE PRAYER BOOK DICTIONARY. An Indispensable Volume of Reference dealing with the origins, history, use, and teaching of the several authorised editions of the Book of Common Prayer within the Anglican Communion. Its scope embraces all accompanying ceremonies and supplementary rites, the ornaments of the Church and of all ministers, Church structures and fittings in their relation to worship, ecclesiastical persons and bodies, and the legislative judicial or administrative authorities now or heretofore empowered or exercising powers in regard to the above. Edited by GEORGE HARFORD, M.A., *Vicar of Mossley Hill, Hon. Canon of Liverpool;* and MORLEY STEVENSON, M.A., *Principal of Warrington Training College, Hon. Canon of Liverpool.* Assisted by J. W. TYRER, M.A., *Formerly Vicar of St. Luke the Evangelist, Walton.* Preface by THE LORD BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.

Articles by nearly 150 Contributors, including :—The Bishop of Ossory ; Lord Hugh Cecil ; Dr. Hermitage Day ; The late Dr. Dowden (Bishop of Edinburgh) ; Canon Driver ; The Bishop of Ripon ; The Provost of King's College, Cambridge ; The Bishop of Hull ; The Rev. T. A. Lacey ; The Bishop of Moray and Ross ; The Bishop of Aberdeen ; Bishop Montgomery ; The Bishop of Durham ; The Bishop of Exeter ; Canon Simpson ; Chancellor P. V. Smith ; Canon Staley ; Dr. Eugene Stock ; The Dean of Canterbury ; Canon Bullock Webster ; The Rev. James Baden Powell ; Professor H. B. Swete ; Dr. H. P. Allen ; Professor Du Bose ; Dr. Guy Warman ; Dr. St. Clair Tisdall ; Mr. Robert Bridges ; Mr. Francis Burgess ; Mr. Edwin H. Freshfield, F.S.A. ; Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland, M.A., F.S.A. ; Sir T. Sydney Lea, Bart. ; Sir Charles Nicholson, F.R.I.B.A. ; Mrs. Romanes ; Professor J. E. Vernham. The work is complete in One Volume, crown 4to, half leather gilt, gilt top, 850 pp., 25s. net. *Write for 16 pp. Prospectus containing lists of Contributors and articles, specimen pages, etc.*

" A very successful attempt to meet a real want."—*Guardian.* " Thorough and scholarly."—*Church Times.* " The book will take its place at once amongst our indispensable works of reference . . . a great and scholarly achievement."—*The Churchman.* " We do not think that any Clergyman can afford to be without this highly scholarly volume."—*Church of Ireland Gazette.* " Its contents answer practically every question that we can ask about the book. It will make for itself a place on our reference shelves next to Hastings."—*Record.*

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH. NEWLY TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTIONS, CRITICAL NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS BY G. H. BOX, M.A. Together with a Prefatory Note by S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with two maps, 7s. 6d. net.

The Athenæum says it " deserves high commendation," and that " the advantage of having the prophecies placed before us in something like the original grouping of lines far outweighs the drawback of what might here and there be regarded as arbitrary

or unnecessary alterations . . . the book recommends itself by its scholarly character, its clearness of exposition, and the fearless, yet reverent spirit of investigation by which it is animated."

THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE. Being Chapters 3—14 of the Book commonly known as IV. Ezra (or II. Esdras). Translated from a critically revised text, with critical Introductions, Notes, and Explanations; with a General Introduction to the Apocalypse, and an Appendix containing the Latin text. By G. H. Box, M.A., Author of *The Book of Isaiah*, etc. Together with a Prefatory Note by W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., *Lady Margaret Professor and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.* In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 488 pp., 10s. 6d. net.

"Already known to the student by his excellent edition of *Isaiah*, Mr. Box has now ventured successfully as we think, into a field which Dr. Charles had almost made his own; and Dr. Charles, we are sure, will not be backward in greeting him as a worthy *confrère*. Mr. Box's treatment of the various problems presented by the book is marked by the same clearness and thoroughness which characterised his *Isaiah* . . . Mr. Box has laid the readers of 2 Esdras under the highest obligations, and has produced a work, the only thorough English work on the subject, which does honour to English scholarship and will be indispensable to all students of this portion of the Apocrypha."—*Spectator.*

THE RELIGION AND WORSHIP OF THE SYNAGOGUE. An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., and G. H. Box, M.A. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with eight illustrations. Second, Revised, and Cheaper Edition, 7s. 6d. net.

"It is not often that a large book can be written on a large subject in the field of religion, which is so entirely new and fresh as this important volume. . . . Its novelty and freshness lies in its point of view. It is a study of Judaism by Christian scholars of the Church of England, written for a Christian public, and it is a sympathetic, even a loving study."—*Church Times.*

"Its authors have written with good will and with quite exceptional knowledge."—*Jewish Chronicle.*

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MESSIANIC IDEA. A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION. By the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

"Dr. Oesterley's new work deserves the serious consideration of students. . . It is stimulating, earnest, frank, full of interesting information. . . . Likely to prove very useful to a wide circle of readers."—*Athenæum.*

THE FUTURE LIFE AND MODERN DIFFICULTIES. By F. CLAUDE KEMPSON, M.B. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with diagrams, 3s. 6d. net.

"The author shows the simplest educated reader that there is nothing whatever in scientific discoveries to weaken our faith in Christianity."—*The Record.*

THE KINGDOM WITHIN. Being Teaching for our Day Recorded Exclusively by St. Luke. By AGNES STANLEY LEATHES. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net.

"Her studies are thoughtful and yet simple; they relate the primary teachings of Christ to the facts of modern life. There are useful chapters on spiritual healing, and on the value of the results of psychic research, a value often over estimated by the apologist for Christianity."—*Church Times.*

THE GOSPEL OF JOY. By the Rev. STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 6s.

"Fine discourses . . . they breathe a brave and loving spirit, and have the virtue of infusing their writer's health of soul into the reader's heart."—*Speaker.*

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND MODERN LIFE. By the same Author. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 6s.

THE LIFE SUPERLATIVE. By the same Author. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 6s.

THOUGHTS ON SOME OF THE MIRACLES OF JESUS. As MARKS OF THE WAY OF LIFE. By the Right Hon. and Most Rev. COSMO GORDON LANG, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 6s.

"A delightful book, full of helpfulness and cheer."—*Methodist Times.*

THOUGHTS ON SOME OF THE PARABLES OF JESUS. By the same Author. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 6s.

"We can only express our wonder at the freshness of treatment which he has been able to bring to a familiar subject."—*The Times.*

FAMOUS SERMONS BY ENGLISH PREACHERS. From the VENERABLE BEDE to H. P. LIDDON. Edited with Historical and Biographical Notes by Canon DOUGLAS MACLEANE, M.A. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"This is a delightful collection, and the reading public owe a debt of gratitude to Canon Macleane. Canon Macleane's Introductions to the Sermons are by no means the least valuable part of the work . . . it deserves, and will no doubt receive, a hearty welcome from all reading men interested in the history of our Church."—*Record.*

LAY SERMONS FROM "THE SPECTATOR." By M. C. E. With an introduction by J. ST. LOE STRACHEY. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, silk register, 5s. net.

". . . The prime merit of these essays is their simplicity—a quality which should commend them to many who instinctively reject sermons as sermons are too often preached."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST. By the late Bishop THOROLD. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d.

THE TENDERNESS OF CHRIST. By the same Author. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d.

"Deals with questions of universal and abiding import. His style, too, has a rare charm."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST. By the same Author. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d.

"May well take its place amongst the classics of experimental religion."—*Record.*

THE BETTER WAY. By Pastor CHARLES WAGNER. Translated from the French by MARIE LOUISE HENDEE. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d.

ON LIFE'S THRESHOLD: TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE ON CHARACTER AND CONDUCT. By the same Author. Translated by EDNA ST. JOHN. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d.

THE SIMPLE LIFE. By the same Author. Translated from the French by MARIE LOUISE HENDEE. With biographical sketch by GRACE KING. New Edition. In foolscap 8vo, cloth gilt, 1s. net.

THE COMMANDMENTS OF JESUS. By the Rev. R. F. HORTON. Popular edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 2s. 6d. net.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS. By the same Author. Popular edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt. 2s. 6d. net.

HELP FOR THE TEMPTED. By Professor AMOS R. WELLS. With an Introduction by the Rev. F. B. MEYER, B.A. In foolscap 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 2s. 6d.; also in paper covers, price 1s. 6d.

THE GOSPEL AND THE AGE. By the late W. C. MAGEE, D.D., Archbishop of York. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d.

"Will arrest the attention of the world."—*Spectator.*

CHRIST THE LIGHT OF ALL SCRIPTURE. By the late W. C. MAGEE, D.D., Archbishop of York. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d.

"It is hardly necessary to recommend discourses so full of fresh thought and vigorous reflection."—*Globe.*

THE INDWELLING CHRIST. By the late HENRY ALLON, D.D. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d.

"Worthy to take their place among the masterpieces of the old divines."—*Daily Telegraph.*

CONSIDERATIONS FOR LENT. Readings for the Forty Days' Fast. By The Rev. VERNON STALEY, Hon. Canon of Inverness Cathedral. Author of *The Catholic Religion*, etc., etc. In foolscap 8vo, cloth, 1s. 6d. net. Leather gilt, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net.

This series of short readings and reflections for the Forty Days of Lent is written in the concise and plain style which the Author has successfully adopted in his previous works, so well known and largely circulated. The plan of the work is to give the reader food for reflection founded on Christian doctrine, in the best sense of the term, and to turn each day's reading, or portion, to bear upon character and practical religion.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR ADVENT. Devotional Readings for the Season. By the same Author. Cloth, 1s. 6d. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net.

A BOOK OF THE LOVE OF JESUS. By Mgr. R. H. BENSON In foolscap 8vo, leather gilt, gilt top, 3s. 6d. net; cloth 2s. net.

"An anthology of some old Catholic devotions, slightly modernized, which will appeal to many by reason of its simplicity and beauty."—*To-day.*

A BOOK OF THE LOVE OF MARY. By F. M. GROVES. Preface by HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL BOURNE. In foolscap 8vo., cloth, with frontispiece, 2s. net. Leather gilt, gilt top, photogravure frontispiece, 3s. net.

"We give a cordial and grateful welcome to this beautiful little book about Our Lady, and her churches, pictures, images, shrines, guilds, wells and salutations, and the poems, prayers and days that honour her."—*Catholic Times.*

IN OUR LADY'S PRAISE. An Anthology of Verse. Compiled by E. HERMITAGE DAY, D.D., F.S.A. With Preface by the RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX. In foolscap 8vo, cloth, with frontispiece, 2s. net.; leather gilt, gilt top, with photogravure frontispiece, 3s. net.

IN ANSWER TO PRAYER. Testimonies of Personal Experiences. By BISHOP BOYD-CARPENTER, the late DEAN OF SALISBURY, Canon KNOX LITTLE, M.A., the late Rev. Dr. JOHN WATSON ("IAN MACLAREN"), Rev. Dr. R. F. HORTON, the late Rev. HUGH PRICE HUGHES, and others. Cheaper edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 2s.

BIBLE STUDENT'S LIFE OF OUR LORD in its Historical, Chronological and Geographical Relations, The. By the Rev. S. J. ANDREWS. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 556 pp., 3s. 6d.

The events of the Lord's life, as given by the Evangelists, are arranged in chronological order, and the difficulties as to matters of fact explained. As the necessary foundation for a chronological arrangement, the dates of the Lord's birth and death, and the duration of His public ministry are considered in brief preliminary essays.

THE LITERARY STUDY OF THE BIBLE. An account of the leading forms of literature in the Sacred Writings. By Professor R. G. MOULTON, M.A., Ph.D. Cheaper Edition. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"A valuable help to the study of the Sacred Writings. . . . We heartily recommend this book."—*Daily Chronicle.*

THE PRACTICAL WISDOM OF THE BIBLE. Edited with an introduction by J. ST. LOE STRACHEY (Editor of *The Spectator*). In demy 16mo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net; leather 3s. 6d. net.

"If Mr. Strachey's work does nothing more than draw attention to the incomparably rich vein of wisdom which runs through the various books of which the Bible is made up, not only the Church, but all whose faith is founded on the Scriptures, will owe him a debt of gratitude. . . . No one, after reading the elegant and carefully produced volume can doubt that Mr. Strachey has done a good work in a thoroughly good manner."—*Standard.*

THE SOCIAL RESULTS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY. By C. SCHMIDT. Translated by Mrs. THORPE. With Preliminary Essay by R. W. DALE, LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

"An easy book to read, and the educated layman will find it full of vital interest, while the more exacting student will have the further satisfaction of being provided with full and precise references to the original authorities in which many startling assertions are made."—*Nottingham Daily Express.*

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL LIFE. By the Rev. J. WILSON HARPER, D.D. In crown 8vo, cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

MODERNISM. A RECORD AND REVIEW. By the Rev. A. LESLIE LILLEY, M.A. In demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s. net.

"Mr. Lilley is admirably suited, both by knowledge and sympathy, to be the medium through which the modernist position may be made known to the English public."—*Church Times.*

BODY AND SOUL. An Enquiry into the effects of Religion upon health with a description of Christian works of healing from the New Testament to the present day. By PERCY DEARMER, D.D. Ninth impression. Cheaper Edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 2s. 6d. net.

"Here is the book for which we have so long waited. . . We may say at once that the work could hardly have been better done. It takes a comprehensive survey of the main question, and of matters related to it. It is arranged with an admirable clearness." —*Church Times.*

THE CHURCHMAN'S GUIDE. A Handbook for all persons, whether Clerical or Lay, who require a Book of Reference on questions of Church Law or Ecclesiology. Edited by ARTHUR REYNOLDS, M.A. In crown 8vo, cloth, 368 pp., 3s. 6d. net.

"The work is extremely well done. Within the space of 333 pages, well and clearly printed in double columns, the editor has managed to include nearly a thousand articles and definitions. The articles on various legal points are lucid and authoritative; those on ecclesiology interesting and practical; those on historical points are commendably free from bias. In fact it is a trustworthy and convenient guide on the many matters on which the churchman constantly finds himself in need of information."—*Church Times.*

CHURCH ACCOUNTS. A Simple, Concise Method of Account Keeping for use by the Clergy, Churchwardens, and other Officials. With Model Accounts. Compiled by the Rev. W. G. DOWSLEY, B.A. Size 15½ in. by 9½ in., half-leather, 106 pp., with interleaved blotting-paper, 6s. 6d. net.

"An exceedingly useful volume. . . . As to its thoroughness there can be no doubt; . . . for large and highly organised parishes it would be difficult to devise anything better."—*Guardian.*

THE SOCIAL WORKERS' GUIDE. A Handbook of Information and Counsel for all who are interested in Public Welfare. Edited by the Rev. J. B. HALDANE, M.A., Secretary of the Southwark Diocesan Social Service Committee, with assistance from Fifty Experts. In crown 8vo, cloth, 500 pp., with over 500 articles. 3s. 6d. net.

"A book of reference of more than average value. The need of such a book is patent, and we do not know of any other publication which attempts to supply it. The notes are arranged in alphabetical order, and, generally speaking, they are wonderfully exhaustive."—*Guardian.*

HOW TO TEACH AND CATECHISE. A Plea for the Employment of Educational Methods in the Religious Instruction of Children. By the Rev. J. A. RIVINGTON, M.A., formerly Second Master at St. Paul's Cathedral Choir School. With a Preface by the LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER. Cheaper Edition. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 1s. 6d. net.

"This is an invaluable little book . . . it might well be put into the hands of every Sunday School teacher."—*Churchman.*

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN WALES From the Beginning to the Present Day. By the Rev. J. E. DE HIRSCH-DAVIES, B.A. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 356 pp., 5s. net.

"It shows wide reading no less than special study. It is written with the simplicity befitting a popular history, and its interest never flags. It makes the Welsh Church, in strength and weakness, depression or re-awakening, live before our eyes."—*Church Times.*

THE LONDON CHURCH HANDBOOK. Being a Compendium of Information upon Church Affairs in the County of London [Dioceses of London and Southwark]. In Crown 8vo, cloth, 412 pp., 2s. net.

THE SPRING OF THE DAY. SPIRITUAL ANALOGIES FROM THE THINGS OF NATURE. By the late HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

THE CLOCK OF NATURE. By the late HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

An attempt to bring out the wise lessons which the objects of Nature teach, and to illustrate the spiritual revelation of God in Christ by the revelation of God in Nature.

THE POETRY OF PLANTS. By the late HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D. In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d. net.

A collection of popular studies, showing the many points of beauty and interest about some of the commonest of our trees and wild flowers.

TRAVEL, TOPOGRAPHY, AND SPORT

THE ADVENTURER IN SPAIN. By S. R. Crockett. With 162 illustrations by Gordon Browne and from photographs taken by the Author. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 6s.

CASTLES AND CHATEAUX OF OLD TOURAINE and the Loire Country. By Francis Miltoun and Blanche McManus. With seventy illustrations reproduced from paintings made on the spot, and maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"One of the most delightful travel books that we have come across for some time."—*Country Life.*

CASTLES AND CHATEAUX OF OLD NAVARRE and the Basque Provinces. By the same Authors. With 63 illustrations (some in colour), maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"The book is well worth reading, not merely as a travel handbook, but for its sympathetic, social and historical review of a very interesting section of the French people."—*Irish Times.*

CASTLES AND CHATEAUX OF OLD BURGUNDY and the Border Provinces. By the same Authors. With 59 illustrations (some in colour), maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth richly gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"Their new volume strikes the reader as the most readable and most instructive they have yet given us."—*Nottingham Guardian.*

IN THE LAND OF MOSQUES AND MINARETS. By the same Authors. With 75 illustrations, in colour and black and white, maps, plans, etc. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with cover of charming design, 7s. 6d. net.

"A comprehensive account of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, and of Mussulman government, religion, art, culture, and French influence. Picturesquely illustrated."—*Times.*

WANDERINGS ON THE ITALIAN RIVIERA. The Record of a leisurely tour in Liguria. By Frederic Lees. With coloured plate, and 60 illustrations, map. In large crown 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net.

"The Italian Riviera . . . is practically unknown to the majority of visitors, and Mr. Lees has done it and the public a service in writing this very readable and pleasant volume. All intellectual people will appreciate the description of local customs, art and architecture, literature and folk lore, which Mr. Lees has set himself to expound."—*World.*

Countries and Peoples Series

Each in imperial 16mo, cloth gilt, gilt top, with about 30 full-page plate illustrations, 6s. net.

ITALY OF THE ITALIANS. By HELEN ZIMMERN.

"The knowledge and judgment displayed in the volume are truly astounding, and the labour the author has expended on it has made it as indispensable as Baedeker to the traveller, as well as invaluable to the student of modern times."—*Daily Telegraph.*

FRANCE OF THE FRENCH. By E. HARRISON BARKER.

"A book of general information concerning the life and genius of the French people, with especial reference to contemporary France. Covers every phase of French intellectual life—architecture, players, science, and invention, etc."—*Times.*

SPAIN OF THE SPANISH. By Mrs. VILLIERS-WARDELL.

"Within little more than 250 pages she has collected a mass of ordered information which must be simply invaluable to any one who wants to know the facts of Spanish life at the present day. Nowhere else, so far as we are aware, can a more complete and yet compendious account of modern Spain be found."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

SWITZERLAND OF THE SWISS. By FRANK WEBB.

"Mr. Webb's account of that unknown country is intimate, faithful, and interesting. It is an attempt to convey a real knowledge of a striking people—an admirably successful attempt."—*Morning Leader.*

GERMANY OF THE GERMANS. By ROBERT M. BERRY.

"Mr. Berry abundantly proves his ability to write of *Germany of the Germans* in an able and informing fashion. What he does is to state, so far as can be done within the scope of a single handy volume, particulars of all aspects of life as lived in Germany to-day."—*Daily Telegraph.*

TURKEY OF THE OTTOMANS. By LUCY M. J. GARNETT.

"There could hardly be a better handbook for the newspaper reader who wants to understand all the conditions of the 'danger zone.'"—*Spectator.*

BELGIUM OF THE BELGIANS. By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

"A very complete handbook to the country."—*World.*

SERVIA OF THE SERVIANS. By CHEDO MIJATOVICH.

"It is a useful and informative work and it deserves to be widely read."—*Liverpool Daily Courier.*

JAPAN OF THE JAPANESE. By Professor J. H. LONGFORD. With map.

"A capital historical résumé and a mine of information regarding the country and its people."—*London and China Telegraph.*

Other Volumes in preparation.

The "All Red" Series

Each volume is in demy 8vo, cloth gilt, with 16 full-page plate illustrations, maps, etc., 7s. 6d. net.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA. By the Hon. BERNHARD RINGROSE WISE (formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales).

"The 'All Red' Series should become known as the Well-Read Series within a short space of time. Nobody is better qualified to write of Australia than the late Attorney-General of New South Wales, who knows the country intimately and writes of it with enthusiasm. It is one of the best accounts of the Island Continent that has yet been published. We desire to give a hearty welcome to this series."—*Globe.*

THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND. By Sir ARTHUR P. DOUGLAS, Bt., formerly Under-Secretary for Defence, New Zealand, and previously a Lieutenant, R.N.

"Those who have failed to find romance in the history of the British Empire should read *The Dominion of New Zealand.* Sir Arthur Douglas contrives to present in the 444 pages of his book an admirable account of life in New Zealand and an impartial summary of her development up to the present time. It is a most alluring picture that one conjures up after reading it."—*Standard.*

THE DOMINION OF CANADA. By W. L. GRIFFITH, *Secretary to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada.*

"The publishers could hardly have found an author better qualified than Mr. Griffith to represent the premier British Dominion . . . an excellent plain account of Canada, one of the best and most comprehensive yet published . . trustworthy."—*Athenæum.*

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. Their History, Resources, and Progress. By ALGERNON E. ASPINALL, *Secretary to the West India Committee.*

"... hence the value of such a book as Mr. Aspinall has compiled so skilfully. Its treatment of current topics is copious, up-to-date, and full of varied interest ... every visitor to the West Indies will be well advised if he takes Mr. Aspinall's book as his guide."—*Times.*

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. With chapters on Rhodesia and the Native Territories of the High Commission. By W. BASIL WORSFOLD, *Sometime Editor of the "Johannesburg Star."*

THE EMPIRE OF INDIA. By SIR J. BAMPFYLDE FULLER, K.C.S.I.

WINTER LIFE IN SWITZERLAND. Its Sports and Health Cures. By Mrs. M. L. and WINIFRED M. A. BROOKE. In crown 8vo, cloth, 290 pp., with coloured frontispiece and many full-page plates, maps, and other illustrations, 3s. 6d. net.

"This book is so full of description and useful information on all points as to be an indispensable possession to anyone intending a winter visit to Switzerland ... this invaluable little book."—*Throne.*

RECOVERING THE "ASHES." An account of the cricket tour in Australia, 1911-12. By J. B. HOBBS, *the famous Surrey and England player.* In crown 8vo, cloth, with illustrations, 160 pp. 1s. net.

Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., London, Bath, and New York.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

FEB 5 1954
REC'D LD-URL
JAN 6 1975
JAN 15 19

Form L-
25m-10,'41(2491)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES
LIBRARY

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 001 326 881 8

UCLA-Young Research Library
JN1413 1913 .W63t
yr
L 009 618 620 0